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A PERMANENT MILITARY MACHINE NECESSARY?

Is It Compatible With Democracy?

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An after-the-war question that concerns every American, is calmly and logically treated by the Senator from Oregon for The Forum.

SOME persons, I believe, contend that the present world war should and will mark the end of all warfare. Let us hope and pray that they are right—but meantime we shall probably find it advisable to "keep our powder dry."

It is possible that there will be no other great struggle such as that in which we are now engaged, at least none other for a long time to come. Yet such an eventuality is only a possibility, or, at the very highest estimate, a probability. Under no circumstances that I can imagine can it be a certainty. If means for making it a certainty should be available they might be less desirable than the danger to be subverted.

At best we can only hope that the danger of warfare will be reduced to the lowest minimum compatible with human freedom, national self-respect and legitimate national interests.

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No reasonable person can maintain that it is possible for the present war, or the international arrangements it may produce, to forever or so much as temporarily end the possibility of war occurring and of the United States being involved in warfare. That irremovable possibility must be taken into account when we come to reshape national policies in conformance with the new conditions that will prevail hereafter.

Therefore, our permanent policies of future peace times must comprise some measure of national defense. We must in future be prepared for not only what may likely happen but also for what can happen and our preparedness must be modified only to the extent that the danger is reduced.

It is foolish to assume that situated as we are it will be safe for us to scrap our navy, dismantle our forts and abandon our rifles, but the attention to be given those things will be marked in degree by events we cannot now anticipate or define. I think I can lay down a proposition on which all thoughtful men will agree, which is that absolute disarmament will be neither safe nor desirable no matter what the outcome of the present war or the eventualities of that outcome may be.

WHY WAR WILL BE WITH US ALWAYS

IF there were no other ground on which to predicate the foregoing assertion the very facts of human nature would render it uncontrovertible. I believe human nature has improved and is improving. In my opinion the events of the times are arousing the idealistic, altruistic and sacrificial impulses of men and women as they probably were never aroused on such a scale before. No doubt when the war is over the public mind throughout the world will be healthier, saner, more temperate and more reasonable than ever before. But I don't believe the war is going to bring on the millenium by making men wholly perfect. After it is over, greed and selfishness, jealousy and covetousness will still have to be contended with as evils of human nature, though I trust their virulence will have been greatly reduced.

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Nations are only the composite reflection of human beings. They cannot be much if any superior to the individuals that animate and give them life. And nations will not approach perfection in thought or action until at least a majority of human beings in all nations are perfect. It is idle to imagine all the imperfections of human nature being uprooted or destroyed during the period of the war, no matter how long or violent it may be. In fact, if war were capable of such a phenomenal purifying process we would be compelled to exalt the science of killing above the tenets of religion and all the other moral forces that have worked peacefully for the uplift of mankind. For myself, I can pay to war no such tribute.

Until you can eradicate from the individual human heart the evils of greed and selfishness and the desire to get something that belongs to someone else, you cannot eradicate from the hearts of nations the same desire that lurks in the hearts of men in dealing with others.

So long as men are greedy nations will be greedy. So long as men are unjust nations will be unjust. So long as men seek what is not theirs nations will hunger for conquests. So long as policemen shall be needed to protect your homes, a military arm will be needed to protect your borders from the invader. When locks and vaults can be discarded throughout the earth, military arms may be safely thrown into the sea. But such a time of halcyon safety is not coming next year, or the year after, even if it ever comes at all.

Thus if I am asked if we will have to adopt measures of permanent military preparedness my answer is positively in the affirmative.

OUR AFTER THE WAR MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT

BUT if am asked whether we shall have to maintain a large standing army of professional fighters or adopt any measures partaking inherently of militarism, or measures differing essentially from the policies of the nation as fixed by its founders, my answer must be a positive negative.

That we shall have to have an army as we shall have to

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have a navy there isn't the slightest doubt in my mind. But I do not believe we shall need to maintain a much if any larger standing army than we had before the war. This does not mean that we will not have to keep better prepared for war; for in reality we were scarcely prepared for war at all.

The preparedness for war we shall have to undertake in future will bear little comparison with the futile undertakings along that line in years past.

For we have learned by bitter experience that modern warfare is no simple science. Fighting of old, as everyone knows, was a holiday, May-day affair, compared with what it is now when all of Science's modern ingenuity is being employed on the battlefield.

We can reasonably assume that the acme of achievement in the science of fighting has not been reached, if even so much as approached. Many new means of fighting developed in the present conflict have been of restricted import merely because neither side had the time or means for expanding their full possibilities. There is no way we can prevent their expansion in future.

War was formerly a matter of human combat; to-day it is one of absolute destruction, not only of men but of everything within its zone of action.

It may be argued that the employment of such fearfully destructive instruments as are now being used will in future be prevented. Such can be done only by preventing war itself. We have seen what happened to prior agreements entered into with all solemnity regarding the conduct of so-called civilized warfare. Our very participation in the present struggle illustrates the flimsy texture of such arrangements. No war in all time was preceded by fuller or more humane understandings for the observance of measures of amelioration. And in none other, since savage hordes overran countries only to satisfy primordial lust for destruction, has the harshness of conflict been softened by fewer measures of amelioration. Even those gallantries and courtesies which the customs of centuries were believed to have rendered

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sacred, such as are covered by the white flag of truce, like the burying of the dead and the gathering up of the wounded, have been utterly ignored.

By what reason can we assume that prior agreements and understandings as to the conduct of warfare in future can be trusted absolutely? And if not as to the conduct of warfare, how can we trust implicitly to those aiming at ending warfare itself?

We can only assume that agreements and arrangements will be trustworthy largely in degree that there exist adequate measures for enforcing them.

GREAT NUMBERS OF FUTURE POTENTIAL FIGHTERS NECESSARY

THOSE measures must consist of something more than an adequate supply of men willing, on need, to fight. Though armament figures in warfare as it never did before, the importance of the man was never before so great.

War is and will continue to be essentially a matter of men. Whatever we do to safeguard the future must be predicated on men, not on great numbers of men who are potential fighters but on great numbers of men already trained and schooled in the fighting art.

Hence our future policies of preparedness must be laid on the foundation of obligatory military service energized and applied by universal military training.

It is the only way we can avoid maintaining a large standing or professional army and perhaps the only way we can safely avoid the evils of militarism.

Universal military training does not mean or threaten the danger of militarism, which, conversely, does not mean preparedness. Some of the most militaristic of nations have proved on test illy prepared for war. It might even be argued that militarism produces cankers that rot out the heart of true preparedness. For Germany's example of efficiency in the present war, you may set Russia's humiliating defeat by Japan and recent disintegration, both of which may be traced to rottenness begotten by a militaristic autocracy.

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While militarism, that is the complete subjection of civil organization to the military, may encourage war, the lesson of history is that true preparedness tends to discourage and prevent war.

Who would assert there is any touch of militarism in the ultra-democratic government of Switzerland? And that oldest of republics has maintained its neutrality in the present war, as has been clearly proven, through its splendid state of preparedness based on the principle of obligatory military service and the long practice of universal military training. The well trained citizen soldiers of Switzerland alone, in my opinion, deterred Germany from invading France through that country. And who on quick thought can recall a war in which Switzerland has been involved?

Likewise no one ever thinks of the governments of Australia or New Zealand being militaristic, though both employ universal military training, and neither so far as I can recall has ever been involved in a war caused by threatened invasion of its territory or direct affronts.

MILITARY TRAINING NOT CONTRARY TO DEMOCRACY

THE practice of the afore-mentioned almost model democracies amply shows that there is nothing contradicting democracy, or threatening its tenets, in the principle that every man, rather than a selected and preferred few, should bear equally the obligation of fighting, when necessary, for one's country, or in expecting every man to be prepared to take part in the country's defense.

Those who assert that the principle of universal service and universal military training controvert the peculiar ideals and traditions of our own nation are little informed on the advocacies of the founders of the nation or the policies actually enacted into law by them.

You can find among the state papers at Washington a copy of a report made by our first Secretary of War to our first President urging the adoption of universal military training as a national policy. That Secretary was General Henry Knox, one of Washington's generals in the Revolu-

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tion, and the President was George Washington, who submitted the report with an approval of its recommendations to the Senate of the United States.

It is interesting to note that General Knox's plan for amassing and training, in peace times, the fighting forces of the country, was practically the same as the one we have followed in the present war. In some respects, the Knox plan was more radical. It called for the enrollment of all men between 18 and 60 years old. Military training was to begin at 18 years, and, in the cases of actual mariners and seamen, at 16 years. Those between 18 and 21 were to be the " advance corps " of the forces and subject to first call in case of war. Those between 21 and 45 were to be the " main corps," while those between 45 and 60 alone were to be classed as a " reserve corps." The plan called not only for enrollment and muster but also for anual periods of training, the length of which shortened as the men grew older.

But that was only a report and a recommendation by a cabinet officer, someone may say. It may astonish such persons to learn that the essential features of the plan were enacted into law by Congress in 1792 and remained the law of the country until repealed by implication in 1903.

The law was enforced for many years, but with varying vigilance because the details of its enforcement were left virtually to the judgment of the various States. It did not break down entirely until 1848, when New York State enacted laws permitting exemptions on the payment of certain taxes.

OUR STATESMEN OF THE PAST FAVORED MILITARY TRAINING

THE views of Washington, Madison, Hamilton and even Jefferson, favoring what amounted to universal military training are so well known that they need not be quoted here.

But the question as to national policy has been settled by the exigencies of the present war; yet it is pleasing to know that it has not been settled contrary to the principles

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accepted and at least nominally applied during the formative period of the nation's career.

And in my opinion the nation is not going to take a step backward after the war is over.

If a military arm will still be needed—and of that I don't think any reasonable man has any doubt—we are going to provide for it as we have made up our armies now in the field by requiring every man to do his part. Universal military training will obviate the necessity for a large standing army and its consequent threat of militarism.

By giving our boys on or before their reaching 18 or 19 years old six to nine months' intensive military training, thus turning out annually, without interfering with the normal operations of peace times, a half million or more men prepared for service, it will be necessary to maintain only enough standing troops to garrison our foreign possessions, man our fortifications and preserve our arms. In my opinion a standing army of 75,000 may be sufficient.

As for the details of applying universal military training, there can be no difference of opinion and I am wedded to no particular plan or plans. The scheme can be adjusted to our educational methods, as most of the colleges already are adjusting it, so that training can be made concurrent with schooling.

However, the training must be under the sole direction of the Federal government.

STATE MILITIA NECESSARY FOR POLICE PURPOSES

THE State militia or national guard should as far as possible be separated from the national military establishment. In my opinion the national government should withdraw support given State troops, of course allowing the States the right, as they have under the Constitution, to maintain organized militia, for constabulary or supplementary police purposes.

That universal military training will be well worth while, though no other war shall ever occur, is proven by facts coming out of our recent experiences.

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Only two years ago, in a letter to a member of Congress, Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor, wrote:

> "There are many indications that there has been a decrease in the virility of our nation during the past decade. Whatever the cause of this decrease in the physical power and resistance, it is a matter of grave concern to all.
>
> "Agencies that will build up our citizens physically must be a part of our social organization. Nor is this of concern from the military standpoint alone or purely as a problem of national defense. The effects of better health and increased vigor among our citizens will be plainly shown in increased efficiency in all activities of life."

Similar statements have been made by many others equally as authoritative as Mr. Gompers.

That adequate military training will check the tendency toward decreased virility is now not only claimed but proven by actual experience.

A nephew of mine in the South, who a year ago was an undersized, weakly and bespectacled stripling of 16 years old, enlisted in the army, with his mother's consent. Now he is a full-sized, pink-faced, strapping young chap, several inches taller, his glasses gone, with the army in France, and able to do twice as much as, but for the training he has received, he could ever have done. No doubt his life expectancy, barring the risks of war, has been greatly increased, as has been his potential value to his community.

The case of my nephew is only one of thousands.

THE EFFECT OF TRAINING UPON OUR YOUNG MEN

IT may astonish many people to learn that 400 out of every 1,000 of the millions of men who have been examined for the army were found to be suffering from some preventable disease, which was sapping constitutions, threatening general health, and worse still, carrying a most baneful foreboding to posterity. Such as were taken into the army have largely been cured, and the outcropping of such diseases—once the scourge of armies—has been, through wise measures of education, control and attention, reduced to almost negligibility.

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The value to the youth of the country and to posterity which universal military training would be in that one direction would be worth the cost, particularly so if registrants were required to assemble and be re-examined annually.

What it may accomplish in the way of generally improved health is shown by the health figures of our present camps and cantonments. Disease has been reduced far below the normal for civil life and the death rate from disease likewise has been cut into something like one-half for men of the ages of those in the service.

Not long ago General John J. Pershing said:

> "It would be difficult to imagine any discipline that would be of greater value, not only to the individual but also to the industrial, political and military future of this country, than to provide for the 1,000,000 men reaching 18 years of age each year five or six months consecutive military training, under such intensive system as that followed in the conduct of our summer encampments for citizens. . . .
>
> "Everyone should know, except those who will not see, that the surest way to avoid militarism, if such a thing were at all possible under our democratic institutions, is to give every man military training.
>
> "With military training every young man would learn that he owes his country the duty of preparing himself to defend her rights if called on to do so. The instruction would strongly impress upon him his military obligation to the government. Service for one's country cannot be measured by the mercenary standard of wages, but it ought to be given and accepted as the antecedent price of suffrage and for the mutual benefit of both the government and the citizen."

Under the stress and impetus of war, our country has made many great forward steps. Let us take care to see that the conclusion of war be made no excuse for steps backward.

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USE AND MISUSE OF THE PRESS

How the German Bamboozled the Public. The English Press and the War

By VISCOUNT NORTHCLIFFE

WHEN the War came in 1914, the Germans alone had solved the difficult problems of news and censorship. For many years they had studied profoundly the power of suggestion possessed by a constant reiteration of printed type; they had laid their plans carefully at home and abroad and had purchased neutral newspapers in the United States, South America, Spain, Sweden, the Far East, Switzerland, Greece, and elsewhere. Meanwhile the British press had been adroitly flattered and cajoled by von Kuhlmann, the story of whose London activities has yet to be told, as well as by those great agencies of German propaganda, the Hamburg-American Steamship Company and the German Banks. What the Germans call " bamboozle trips " to Germany were organized by German propagandists for the free entertainment of British editors.

In the first days of August, 1914, by an instant and audacious effort of suggestion, the German newspapers and wireless convinced Germany, Austria and a great part of the world that the Germans were fighting a battle of self-defense! Our Government so ill understood its relations to the Press, that von Kuhlmann and other Germans were still telegraphing to English newspapers at the very opening of the War. Had these duped newspapers been of any real influence, great harm might have been done. As it was, the statements circulated by German speakers and German newspapers and our pro-Germans kept many of our people in a confused state of mind as to the War until long after it had begun.

The work of German newspapers during the War has

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been to stimulate their own people and to cause dissension among their opponents. "England will fight to the last Frenchman" or to the last Canadian or to the last Australian —such has been the continual theme of German propaganda; and how effective it has proved is well known to all those who have had the misfortune to travel in neutral countries during the War, countries in which the Germans publish columns upon columns of lying wireless messages, cunningly mixing therein a little truth with an intolerable amount of falsehood.

In brief, the German use of the Press during the War is of the same nature as their use of scientific products and inventions—barbarous and efficient. And today the German Press is still increasing its sphere of baleful influence. It has lately acquired further powerful newspapers in Austria, and seems to have won complete control over a portion of the Russian Press.

HOW THE BRITISH PRESS HAS SERVED THE WAR

BY contrast with the accomplishments of the German newspapers let us look at our own. The British Press has played a great and noble part in the War, in spite of many unnecessary obstacles which have been put in its way. On the one hand, it has been subject by Government to humiliating restrictions; on the other, it has been importuned day after day by Government departments to give publicity to this, that or the other desire of the Cabinet. At the same time the raw material of its production has been reduced more drastically than the raw material of almost any other industry. Let us recall a few of the services which the Press has rendered.

Though the Government does not recognize the necessity of the newspapers, the Food Controller's department, for instance, could not exist without them, since they carry into every home, at a few hours' notice, the inevitable changes in the rationing of the food of the people. The call for men would not be heard without the voice of the Press. The newspapers have encouraged flying, the employment of

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women, the control of the many rich and powerful scheming Germans at work in our midst, the building of ships and the development of agriculture. One newspaper alone has devoted hundreds of columns to explaining the complicated system of food control. The funds raised by newspapers during the War for prisoners' parcels, comforts for the soldiers and sailors, Red Cross and war charities of every kind amount already to many millions. To show the power of suggestion by continuity of expression, one of the high authorities of the Red Cross says that if the appeal is omitted from the *Times* for a single day the subscriptions at once begin to fall off.

As far as they are permitted, the newspapers give an accurate and faithful account of the War. But here again they are hampered needlessly in the discharge of their duty. To give but a few of a hundred foolish restrictions. They are not allowed to publish the total of our wounded and killed, which any accountant, enemy or otherwise, can discover from the published list of casualties. They are not allowed to describe the weather, though the Germans are provided with meteorological instruments that have never failed them to define the weather either here or in France. They are subject to a censorship which has been continually used for personal and political reasons, and which has misled, and still misleads, the public as to the depredations of the submarine.

In truth, it is not too much to say that newspapers, Metropolitan, Dominion, and Provincial, Scotch and Irish, of many shades of thought and opinion, have helped to keep politicians in the straight path, and more or less alive to the very heavy responsibilities which have been cast upon them.

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AN AIRCRAFT DEPARTMENT NEEDED

The Hesitating Policy That Has Held Up Our Halting Air Warfare

By HON. HARRY S. NEW
[U. S. SENATOR FROM INDIANA, MEMBER OF THE COMMITTEE ON MILITARY AFFAIRS]

A DEPARTMENT of Aeronautics, headed and directed by a Secretary with full cabinet rank and prestige and answerable only to the President, is the safest if not the only safe way out of the aircraft muddle which has caused the only great national humiliation associated with our war activities.

This was the conclusion of the sub-committee of the Senate Committee on Military Affairs which recently investigated the aircraft situation. It constitutes the chief and most positive recommendation made in the committee's report which I think all will agree was temperate in spirit and constructive in character.

I, who had the honor of being a member of the investigating sub-committee, prepared a bill embodying the recommendation. (This bill has been endorsed by the Senate Military Committee by a vote of 11 to 2.)

Such a department, at least for the period of the war, would be a natural evolution, warranted by the size and importance of the work to be done and the peculiar and detached nature of the problem to be solved.

We have been spending—and much of it wastefully—more money on aircraft than we expended on all operations of the National Government prior to the war. Our first appropriation for aircraft, at the time of the making, was the largest that had ever before been set aside for a single purpose. Expenditures at present closely approach or exceed those made by the navy, and during the war will and should increase with great rapidity; for our program should be

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expanded to the fullest possible extent. Almost as many men are now engaged in the air service as were in either the army or the navy before the war; and the number engaged in that service by France and England each is greater than were in either branch of our military service two years ago.

While the volume of expenditures and the size of the force justify the creation of a Department of Aeronautics, neither, nor both together, is the chief or most compelling argument in its favor.

The very nature of aeronautics requires that its handling and pursuit be distinguished as a separate branch of warfare, and its high importance demands that it be placed on a par, in official consideration, with operations on land and sea.

In character aeronautics partakes quite as much of the sea as it does of the land. It belongs to neither and is equally a necessary adjunct to both. Its field is the third main element of earthly space—the air—which is circumscribed by none of the limitations defining land and sea, and which, until recently, was an unexplored realm. The land and sea have known fighting since the beginning of warfare; the principles of army fighting and naval fighting are the culmination of thousands of years of experience; air fighting is in its infancy, an infancy that in all probability will develop, when mature, into a dominancy over if not the virtual subjection, of the two older and general methods of fighting.

Training for the air branch of the service is of as distinct a character as that for the army or navy. It bears as much analogy to that given our midshipmen at Annapolis as it does to that given our soldiers at West Point. In reality it bears none at all except at those points where training for the seaman and the soldier meet, as in matters of discipline.

THE GROWING IMPORTANCE OF AIR FIGHTING

BUT aeronautics has a claim for equal rank with army and naval science superior to any of those mentioned. It lies in the superiority of the problem it involves, the exceeding hugeness of it in an intellectual sense. Though this war has revolutionized the art of fighting in all its branches,

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air-fighting is the only kind evolved that can be called absolutely new in character and concept. It brings into play principles and elements wholly foreign to those which have heretofore governed martial combat. Theoretically its expansion has no limit and its theoretical superiority over other forms of combat is universally admitted. Furthermore, the development of the aeroplane as a military arm gives convincing evidence of its future importance as a commercial and industrial necessity.

Still there are other and even more practical considerations which favor the making of aeronautics a separate branch of the service. It overlaps into both the army and navy branches and thereby of necessity is provocative of friction and resulting confusion when not coordinated as a separate entity. There is no task facing the nation now, and there was none facing it when we entered war, calling for such genius as the carrying out of an effective aircraft program demanded. Compared with it, the formation of a big army and the placing of our navy on a war basis were easy undertakings; for with each of the latter the way had been blazed with fair precision. There were good nucleus organizations to build on and around and the necessity for invention and pure origination was not great. But with aircraft there was practically nothing, except the experience of our allies, which, as I shall indicate more fully later on, was virtually ignored.

A year's experience, gained at a cost of more than a half billion dollars and invaluable time, has brought home to us the fact of our ignorance as to aircraft as well as the size of the task which faced and still faces us. Yet we still subordinate aeronautics to the traditional military distinctions despite its own clear tendency to force itself into its true and deserved status.

THE CAUSES OF OUR AIR BLUNDERS

IMAGINE if you can our entering the war without a navy, barring a few small patrol boats, and without naval engineers or more than a modicum of knowledge of navigation.

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Then imagine our depending almost wholly, though not necessarily, on our inventive and organization genius to create a navy—veritably out of the air. Go a little further and imagine our leaving the construction of the navy to a board made up of railroad experts, selected because locomotives and warships both move under steam-power. Then think of the undertaking being given the status of a bureau or division in the War Department, and you get some idea of the blurred and dwarfed perspective which has guided us in our aircraft undertakings.

And when we recall that in approaching the problem that way we defied the experience of friends and foes, it is mild to say that our course was due to lack of imagination.

But that is what we have done, at least until quite recently. The aircraft undertaking has evolved into something promising a due recognition of its true import but the evolution was made by force of its own propulsion and apparently against stubborn opposition and under-appreciation, both of which are still in evidence. It has evolved as did similar undertakings in France and England where ignorance was unavoidable. Its tendency here is the same as it was in those countries, that is to say toward departmental status; yet we hesitate about anticipating that which may have to be done and giving it that status now. Ministries of the air were established in both France and England, following costly experiments very much like those we have been and are making.

If our aircraft shortcomings could be stated in a generalty they would be attributed to divided control, indefinite responsibility and confused authority. No doubt there was incompetency and very probably malfeasance, too; but there was at the same time fine individual competency and splendid personal honesty; but individual talents were restrained and personal virtues obscured by an impractical system that permitted but vague distinctions between the good and bad, the efficient and the incompetent.

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ONE MAN CONTROL NEEDED

WAR is peculiarly a one-man science. "Men are nothing, one man is everything," said Napoleon, the greatest of warriors. Our own successes abroad are credited by experts as much to the lately arranged concentration of command as to the inherent merit in our forces. Congress, like all legislative bodies jealous of its prerogatives, has submitted uniformly to the principle of concentration. It has withheld no authority which the commander-in-chief thought he should possess.

The principle has been taught repeatedly by our own experiences in the present war. One of the most significant illustrations is afforded by the ship-building program which, as all know floundered in stagnation so long as there was division of authority. Yet the men to whom it was first entrusted were of high character and competency and any-one of them probably would have made a success of the program had he been given full and final authority.

It has been illustrated by our adventures into aeronautics. Associated with the development of that branch of the service no doubt there has been from the beginning men who if they had been entrusted alone with the undertaking could have been made a success of it. Mr. Ryan impresses me as such a man, and so does General Kenly. Yet the Senate Committee found that those two gentlemen had, out of safety, been forced to sign a sort of treaty of peace in the form of an agreement as to what each would do under such contingencies as they could anticipate arising out of the contradictory division of authority that had been made between them.

The Ryan-Kenly arrangement was a vast improvement over the advisory board arrangement which at first prevailed and which was productive of most of the big mistakes that are proved to have been made. The new arrangement with Mr. Ryan in full charge of all branches of the army program is another big advance in the right direction but it is only an advance. He has no authority over the naval aero-

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nautic program which luck alone can prevent coming in conflict and competition with that of the army.

Furthermore, Mr. Ryan's gigantic task is still rated officially beside much less important and less difficult ones, being still only a section of the unwieldly war department and obscured out of proportion to its size.

We have grown tired of hearing about the many disadvantages under which we entered the war. We are so fond of pleading unpreparedness as a set-off to our shortcomings that we ignore some very signal advantages that did attend our engaging in the conflict. One of these was the existence of trained armies which held the enemy back while we prepared. Another was the more than two years of experience gained by our allies which was a guide of incalculable advantage to us in making preparations.

Naturally our allies were glad to render us every possible assistance in the way of expert advice and developed information. We were free to copy their successes and had ready access to their mistakes so that we might avoid them. We so proceeded in the old established lines of warfare. We adopted British rifles and French cannon.

PRODUCTION OF AIRCRAFT SHOULD BE PUT ON A DEFINITE BASIS

WE followed the way that had been hewn for us in organizing our infantry and artillery, hesitating not in setting our own inclinations and even traditions aside for something else proven in practice as more efficient.

But in the one branch of preparation in which we should have looked to our allies most fully for guidance, we trusted most to our own powers of origination and sought to blaze absolutely new paths.

Let me quote from the Senate sub-committee's report:

> "When Italy entered the war she made a careful study of aerial warfare upon the French front as then developed. Her engineers then selected the most efficient types of French flying planes and immediately put them into production under the supervision of skilled French artificers. Coincident with this policy she began the development of airplanes on her own account. Her armies therefore were rapidly equipped with

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> an excellent service, afterwards supplemented by machines equally effective, but of Italian design and driven by Italian motors. By this means she avoided delay in production. . . .
>
> "Your committee does not understand why the Aircraft Board did not adopt this obviously essential policy."

And it is difficult to understand why we hesitate about adopting other policies found by our allies to be essential; why, in fact, we don't go ahead with one leap and put aircraft on a basis similar to what it occupies in France and England instead of approaching it gradually with resultant costly delays and inextricable confusion.

The creation of a Department of Aeronautics would in no sense be a revolutionary change or produce a dangerous experiment. It would not disturb, in the slightest, the operations now or then going on. In that it may be seen how easily it may be done I take the liberty of quoting all but the prefatory part of the bill which I have introduced:

> "Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That there is hereby created for the period of the present war and for one year thereafter an executive department in the Government of the United States to be known as the Department of Aeronautics, the head of which shall be designated the Secretary of Aeronautics, who shall be appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate. He shall be a member of the Cabinet and shall receive a salary of $12,000 a year. The Secretary of Aeronautics shall have direct and complete control of all matters pertaining to the designing, purchase, manufacture and operation of aircraft equipment intended for the use of the Army, the Navy and the Marine Corps of the United States.
>
> "Sec. 2. That the department shall also have an Assistant Secretary, who shall be appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate, who shall receive a salary of $5,000 a year; and such other officers and employees as may be found necessary for the proper and efficient transaction of the business of the department.
>
> "Sec. 3. That the unexpended balance of such appropriations as may have hitherto been made for the purchase and manufacture of aircraft and aircraft equipment and all appropriations which may hereafter be made for such purpose shall be available for the purposes of the Department."

Thus, you will note, that a statute containing only about two hundred words, and not one that could cause the slightest

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disturbance in the progress of aircraft operations, would place our aeronautics program on a par with that of France and England and give it the status which by every line of sound reasoning it deserves.

A POSSIBLE 10,000 AIRPLANES BY JULY, 1919

IT would remove all question as to who is responsible for the furtherance of the program and would leave no room for the slightest evasion or misunderstanding of authority.

And, further, it would give to the man who succeeded with it a guarantee of full credit for what, if fully successful, would probably be rated as the greatest achievement of the war.

I cannot refrain from uttering a word about the injurious effect of extravagant boasting, especially as to aircraft production.

"Americans talk too much," declared General Pershing to Mr. Hamilton Holt last spring, "about what they are going to do. If we hadn't bragged so much about our getting 20,000 aeroplanes at the front by Spring we would have saved ourselves a great deal of trouble. Now our allies have a right to be distrustful of our promises while Germany has simply gone ahead and redoubled her production of aeroplanes."

Competent witnesses testifying before our committee declared that under any conditions possible it would have been out of the question for us to have produced even half as many as 20,000 aeroplanes by the summer of this year.

Mr. Nash, the new director of the technical division of the aircraft operations, testified before our committee that it will be a miracle if we place over 10,000 American-made planes at the front by July 1, 1919.

I mention the above in no spirit of discouragement,—and really I think we can exceed those figures—but merely mention them to emphasize the compelling task that faces whoever is made responsible for our aircraft program. It is up to him truly to do the "impossible,"—to accomplish miracles.

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WANTED: THE BIGGEST AIRCRAFT MAN IN AMERICA

THERE is no man in America too big for the job and there is no distinction out of proportion to the job.

And the job should be so rated as to make it call for the exercise of the very highest genius that can be brought to its aid.

Of course, it is understood that there is no disposition to interfere in time of battle with the Commander of the Army's direction of that branch of the fighting force anymore than there is to take the direction of the artillery from him.

The Department's function would be to procure flying equipment and to train fliers for both the army and navy. When turned over to either of the fighting branches of the service, the Aeronautics Department's authority would cease. Any other arrangement would be absurd, but such an arrangement would be no more extraordinary in principle than is the separation of the army and navy departments, or the labor and commerce departments.

As for the precedent of establishing a temporary cabinet place, it need be only said that all precedents give way to exigency in time of war. Moreover, it is not certain that a permanent Department of Aeronautics will not be found advisable.

"The aeroplane is an American invention," says the report of the investigating committee, "but the credit for its development belongs largely to other nations. America should meet this challenge by bringing the aeroplane to still greater efficiency."

Thus there is a reason of pride as well as necessity for our sparing no move toward making good in the aeronautics branch of the war.

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OUR DOUGHBOYS' OWN STORY

By HAMILTON M. WRIGHT

EDITOR'S NOTE.—Mr. Wright, the Forum's correspondent with the American forces in France, gets his material "straight from the boys" through his talents as a "good mixer" acquired in his years of around-the-world travels and his experiences in the Spanish-American war.

AMBUSHED FROM A CRUCIFIX

"I GOT mine from a crucifix," grinned a Wisconsin doughboy, tapping his bandaged shoulder.

There was no sacrilege in his voice. I rolled cigarettes for him (he couldn't work his right hand skillfully because of the shattered shoulder) and was rewarded with an explanation.

"Not much more than half a mile from the cross that marks Lieutenant Roosevelt's grave stood another cross, one of those big iron crucifixes we sometimes find in cemeteries. A bunch of us were charging up over a hill. This crucifix was at the top. We were greeted by machine gun fire and half of our little group fell. I was among 'em, but was able to sit up and take notice. Believe me, I rubbed my eyes at what I saw. Out from the square iron base the crucifix rested, on came the spurts of machine gunfire. 'Flank that cross,' I yelled. Our officer had seen just what I saw and the boys began a skirmish around the base of the cross. Just as they started to close in, out jumped half a dozen Huns under the cross and started to beat it. Our boys dropped three. The others got away.

"There wasn't any grave up there. There wasn't any reason for that crucifix except the rotten treachery of the Germans. They set the crucifix there and the base was made hollow, with holes in it, a bullet-proof machine gun nest. We got the guns all right, and three of the men."

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"INJUN STYLE"

A BIG Westerner, almost too long for his hospital cot, hailed me as "Pardner" and made earnest inquiry as to my supply of smokes. After a long, deep inhale he took a little bag from under his pillow and, opening it, handed me a splinter of steel as large as a lead pencil and nearly half as long.

"Doc did some prospectin' in th' region of my knee and dug this out," he said, grinning. "Come from a trench apple—some fruit, them trench apples, when they bust right 'long side of a feller. A Prussian guard handed me this here little souvenir just before he learned all about how a bayonet feels when it's run plumb through a feller.

"We come over on that Moldavia boat, and when the U-boat got after us we lost fifty-eight from two companies, so we swore we'd make the Fritzies pay ten for every one we lost, and our dispositions weren't improved any, so you could notice it. We was right glad to get into the fight. We got into the party below Soissons and helped flatten the line out pretty considerable. Our boys had their trench knives into the Huns so continuous that they wore their shoes out chasin' 'em. Then we marched through to attack, one night. There was plenty of artillery shells from the enemy and a wicked machine gun spray, night and day. We come to a river, narrow and deep. I think it was the Vesle, but we was more interested in Germans than geography. Fritzie had that river so well covered with machine gun fire from heights across on the other side that you had no more chance to dodge bullets than you would have to dodge raindrops at th' time of old man Noah's flood.

"Them bullets kept singin' 'You can't get across—can't get across!' And this peeved us considerable so we did Injun fashion, we rolled logs into th' river and got behind 'em. They made dandy little forts. But, lordy, how th' bullets plunked into them logs and splashed all about us. Water was up to our necks, in some places we had to swim for it. The Hun was sure raisin' hell but we got over, and under

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the heights he couldn't get his machine guns slanted down on us. He didn't know we was really gettin' over and kept dropping shells and bullets on the spot we had left. Come dawn we outflanked them machine gunners, rushed 'em with the bayonets, and them that didn't look first and get away, fell down and squealed like pigs and yelled that 'Kamerad' gag.

"We gathered in them machine guns and went on. It was so foggy you couldn't recognize your tailor in time to dodge him and first we knew he was up against a big bunch of Prussian guards with bombs and bayonets, just on the other side of the road from us. I was bendin' over to tie th' busted string of my leggin' when we come on 'em. A Prussian, twelve feet from me, threw a hand grenade.

"'Look out,' yelled one of our boys. But I was a thick-head and instead of falling flat I stood up. I also sat down again, for that trench apple sure did scatter a little hell all around and I got this hunk in my leg. But our boys with the captured machine guns let drive down the road and just laid 'em out. They fell like sheep and we had to climb over stacks of 'em to get on. I couldn't go far because my leg was hurt worse. Man, I sure missed some fun, but I'll make up for it. Doc has already fixed my knee so it'll bend good as new."

HE WHISTLED TO HIS COLONEL

"YOU orter heard me whistle to my Colonel and yell 'Hey, you, come here!' to him," said a Pennsylvania private, as he lay with his hip in a heavy cast. "Of course I didn't know who he was," he hastened to explain.

"Me and my pardner was with the bunch in the open, waiting for the enemy artillery to let up, so we could charge. They had our number where we were waiting in the woods and were dropping all the hardware in the world on us. Airplanes were likewise dropping bombs. Everybody dug in as best he could. Pardner and I got in a hole that kept off machine gun fire and shell splinters.

"'They can't get us unless they drop a bomb plumb in

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this hole,' said my pardner, and then I thought the whole world had bursted open and a mule kicked me in the hip. Pardner was groaning.

"'Are you hurt, Buddy?' I yells.

"'Do you think I'm practising my singin' lesson?' he moans. He was half buried in the dirt. That kick or whatever it was sure did hurt, but I dug Buddy out. Shell splinters had cut through both his ankles. I made one of them tourniquet things on both his legs and managed to get one 'round my thigh as I was bleeding like a punch in the nose. Along about dawn the shelling let up. We was both weak and didn't feel none like giving three cheers for th' Kaiser when along come two Germans. I made a grab for my gun. One looked in just as I lifted the gun. 'Ps—s—s—t,' he made a funny noise to the other and they beat it. Then our men charged and we were left there. Next came some stretcher bearers and I made 'em take Buddy 'cause he was hurt bad. I knew there'd be some others, or the bearers would come back. Not long after that I saw two more of our men. They were going to pass me and so I stuck my arm out and waved it and whistled like I was stopping the last street car at 3A. M., and the men stopped.

"'Hey, you, come here!' I yelled. They come on over and, sufferin' cats, it was my Colonel. 'Gee, I thought you was a stretcher bearer, sir,' I says, giving him a foolish salute.

"'How can I help you?' asks the Colonel.

"'I'm doin' fine,' I says, 'but if you see a stretcher bearer you might send him on, sir.'

"The other man was a surgeon. He took a look at my leg, and said, 'That's a poor tourniquet, my boy!' Before I could answer the Colonel says, 'That's a difficult place to fasten one, could you do any better on yourself, Major?' and th' Doc grins and admits he couldn't, so he fixes me up and later they pick me up and here I am. That's all—and oh yes, don't forget them Frenchmen. Gee, they can sure fight! I was fightin' right in with 'em for a while."

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THE DOUGHBOYS IN ACTION

HE was an "Officer of the Lines." Not a brushed, combed, pressed, manicured, sartorially complete sort of an officer, but a brown-faced, blue-eyed, tousle-haired, muddy, grinning, all-human sort of a chap. He was prouder of his "boys" than a mother ever was of triplets.

"I could write ten volumes, each the size of Standard dictionaries, about the bravery of our doughboys fighting in the open, about their heroism, their sacrifices, their fearlessnass and their 'punch,'" he said to me. "Open fighting was their meat. They liked it. At one time when we were hunting the Germans from wood to wood we had just buried one of our Lieutenants, a most lovable and popular chap, and our boys were out for revenge. When we reached a wood on the bank of a river, with no support on our left, the enemy was sending a deadly fire into us and we had to temporarily retire. Our boys almost wept. One word of encouragement and I believe they would have disobeyed and gone on.

"Then we saw a way out of it. We withdrew a little. A Lieutenant and a Sergeant volunteered to stay with one-pounders and hold the position. Next morning we advanced, were again repulsed, but in the afternoon we rushed it, drove out the Huns and held the new line.

"I saw one of the men coming up, one eye gone and his cheek torn open. A Lieutenant detailed a man to assist him to a *poste de secours*. The poor chap had to cock his head away over to see out of his remaining eye. He looked at the man detailed to help him back to the emergency dressing station. 'Aw go to Hell,' he said; 'stay here and fight. I can make it alone,' and he did.

"One of our Captains was going over the crest of a hill. We discovered a strong enemy force hiding behind the crest and sent two runners to warn him. One runner was killed, the other, with a bullet through his neck, reached the Captain, went back alone to the dressing station and within half an hour was back with a bandaged neck, gun in hand, ready for more of it.

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"A company of ours got lost from the battalion which had stopped to fix masks in a gas attack, the company going forward. Through the dim light they didn't know whether we were friends or enemies. A German-American Sergeant volunteered to find out. 'I'll only be one Dutchman killing another,' he said.

THE STUPID HUN

"THERE are more stupid fools in the German army than there are in an asylum for idiots," another officer told me. "In the fighting at Vaux we rushed a railroad station and held it. Over the embankment across the track the Germans were hiding. Every time they showed a head, that head was put out of commission forever by our accurate shooting. But, like moths around a flame, they kept looking over. A few would stick a gun over and it would be shot out of their hands. Unable to stand the nervous strain they tried to escape at the lower end of the track, but never got twenty feet from their hiding place in the range of our fire, falling in heaps.

"In a great shell hole I saw about thirty Germans held at bay by one American machine gunner. Unable to stand the strain they all rushed up to the edge of the crater in a bunch and threw up their hands in sign of surrender. Our American gunner was willing to accept their surrender, but there was a flanking fire from other of our gunners, far away, and this flanking fire swept every German in the group to death. Had they waited, they would have all been taken alive, as they wished.

"Going ahead one day I saw a German laying in our path. We were going Indian file. He seemed to be dead as he lay there, face bloody. I looked back, as we are always taught to do, and saw him suddenly sit up. We can't take chances. I was expecting a hand grenade, so let him have it. The shot didn't kill him and he explained that he was trying to surrender by sneaking back to our lines. Had he sat up at our approach he would have escaped the wound."

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THE "GUY" MIKE WAS AFTER

"THERE'S a big Irish corporal in my company," a Captain told me as we were sitting in his dugout with our feet ankle deep in mud, "who gave me the best laugh I've had for weeks."

The Captain tamped some cheap tobacco into a corncob pipe with a muddy forefinger. I knew him in New York when he smoked monogrammed, gold-tipped cigarettes and considered it a disgraceful *faux pas* to be seen with a speck of dust on his shoes.

"Mike, the corporal, sneaked up and looked into a shell hole, but, like a well-trained soldier, he squinted adown the barrel of his gun as he looked, to cover whoever might there.

"'Come awn out av that!' he shouted. I stepped up in time to see his prisoner, a wax-pale boy who afterwards said he was sixteen and who didn't look fourteen. He was very weak, his helmet almost rested on his narrow shoulders, his tunic was so big that the sleeves were rolled back eight inches, his trousers were so long that they bagged like a Zouave's bloomers. The poor kid commenced to cry pitifully, like a girl.

"'Niver you moind, sonny,' said Mike, 'I'm no baby killer. Here, let me help you," and big Mike dropped his gun, slid down into the hole where the boy might have turned his own gun on unarmed Mike, and brought him up.

"'Stop ye're cryin', sonny. Nobody'll hurt you. There'll be eats for ye an' a good rest back there. But——" and Mike paused and glared—'if I could git me paws on th' big dirty fat slob of a Prueshun what sent a baby the likes of youse out here I'd tie him to that post an' feed him lighted hand grenades 'till there was nawthin' left of him. That's th' guy I'm after," and Mike picked up his gun and rushed on into the thick of the advance.

"FOR PARDON APPLY IN HEAVEN"

"I AIN'T going to be as pretty as I was," a young chap said to me. He left his college in his freshman year to get into the "big show," as he called it. He was sitting

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in the sunshine just back from a dressing station, with an enormous bandage around his head.

"I've lost about half of my left ear and the dimple out of my cheek. I'll never be a matinee idol or 'he' movie star, but I'll be right back in the fight in a couple weeks, as these are only flesh wounds," and he laughed because the prospect pleased him.

"You know," he continued, gravely, "if there's one thing that makes me sick it's the way those damned Huns hide and treacherously kill, up to the last minute, and then think they can get off scot free by yelling 'Kamerad.' Something like the wicked old goats, who have been bad all their lives, professing to love the Lord on their death beds and expecting to get the same ranking in Heaven as the chaps who have been decent all their lives. And that mention of Heaven reminds me of a bit of revenge I had.

"I lost a chum a while ago. He had taken a prisoner and when his back was turned the prisoner shot him with a concealed weapon. You know those things don't increase our respect for the Huns. Just before a handful of machine gun bullets spoiled my Adonis-like beauty I came on a machine gunner by flanking him. He was hidden and poured shot into our boys until I was on him, then he wheeled and threw up his hands. He had the nerve to smile as though saying, 'Well, I've killed a lot of those Americans and now I can go back as a prisoner, get out of danger and be well fed.' That is just what I imagined his thought to be, and I was so mad that I saw red. He talked some English, for when he threw up his hands and grinned, he said, 'Pardon!'

"'You'll have to apply in Heaven for a pardon,' I yelled, and dropped him.

NEW STYLE IN CHURCH CONTRIBUTION BOXES

A REFINED appearing, soft-spoken boy of no more than twenty-one, recuperating from shell shock, carefully cherished a pair of German helmets.

"Ask him," said an officer acquaintance, to me, "what he is going to do with them."

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"Those helmets, suh? Sell them? Not for a million. They are going back at once to my father. He's a preacher down in No'th Car'lina and I reckoned that if he had handles put on each helmet and used them to pass up and down the aisles of his little church as contribution boxes it would sort of stimulate the collection."

The boy's eyes twinkled, yet he was serious in his plans.

"We are giving 'em Hell every day," he added, with a broad smile, "and I'll be back in a few days now, to help ladle out more Hell for 'em."

"College boy?" I asked him.

"Theological," he said, gravely, "and if I get back home I shall finish my studies and be a preacher, like father."

OBSERVATIONS OF EPICTETUS, JR.

By LEWIS ALLEN

GENERAL ALLENBY says he can get thousands of Turks this Thanksgiving for almost nothing.

Looks as though we were drifting back to that old way of spelling that foamy beverage, "bier."

The Kaiser expects every brave Austrian to do Germany's duty.

Thus far there has been no organization of an Association of Women to Promulgate the Wearing of Last Year's Clothes.

Every Bond you buy takes the boys a step nearer Berlin.

Bill Hohenzollern had much rather go broke than have Pay Day come to *him*.

If you don't burn your money you won't have to sift ashes.

Faith says, "He's a splendid fellow." Hope says "He will reform." Charity says, "He's as good as the average."

The Germans claim to be superior animals, and they are, *beastly* superior.

Bulgaria's bump of hope has become a dent.

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CARD-INDEXING YOUR POLITICS

The Great Political Campaigns of Today Are Scientifically Planned

By AARON HARDY ULM
[POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC WRITER]

"PRACTICAL POLITICS," meaning the direction of campaigns and the building up of parties is, like most things else, undergoing a revolution. Some of the changes or the more superficial ones are apparent, for they find expression in laws regulating political practices. During the past ten years many large volumes of corrupt practices acts, primary election laws, anti-convention statutes, anti-slush-fund and sundry other legal regulations applying to party politics have been enacted. Most of them are good laws and the moral intent behind them all is excellent. They have had bearing in some degree on the changes that have come about in political method, but it might be argued that the changes preceded and maybe precipitated the laws.

Instead of the new methods being pitched on practices partaking of immorality, they are being cast on lines of high efficiency, which in themselves are simply unmoral, just as they are unemotional.

In fact, practical politics is being reduced to business method and the change is producing, if it is not the outgrowth of, a revolution of far-reaching significance.

Old school politics was identified with back-stairs rooms, "Amen Corners," whisperings, deceits cleverly imposed, tricks that were admirable some time for their very ingenuity and boldness, all being classed as so-called "political strategy."

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THE POSTAGE STAMP THE BEST VOTE-GETTER

THE back-stairs, smoke-heavy conference room where three or four men decided the destinies of a party or a faction is no more, even if it ever really existed on the scale that those who fought political rings pretended to believe. Such rooms are now filled with typing machines or filing cases. In place of the " Amen Corner " or the Throne Room has come open headquarters which are really what the signs on the doors (always unlocked during office hours and usually swinging open) declare them to be, which is the place of business for a certain organization or one of its units. Whispered conferences, and directions conveyed by winks, shrugs, have given way to practically open meetings of committeemen who talk in decent English and whose decisions and recommendations are written out on well-kept minute books.

The erstwhile corruptionist who specialized in colonizing voters, stuffing ballot boxes, or handling repeaters has stepped aside for the skilled white-shirted analyst whose acquaintance among barkeepers is nil. The heeler is being supplanted by the letter writer. Thousands of dollars that used to be appropriated in chunks for the buying of votes now go into newspaper or magazine advertising. Other thousands that used to go for controlling this or that element of the voters now usually go into printing or for the salaries of stenographers and typists. The thousands that used to come from selfish or sinister interests now come in the main from the public direct and are procured through open but intelligent solicitation.

If you were to ask the modern political expert to point out the best vote-getter he would indicate a postage stamp. Uncle Sam in these days is perhaps the greatest single recipient of campaign funds. In every national campaign, his postal business enjoys unusual prosperity.

In the last Presidential campaign each of the big national committees spent approximately $2,000,000, about half of which was for paid advertising. And advertising is yet as new to politics as it was to business a hundred years ago.

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Only a few years ago most parties and candidates hesitated about using money in that way. One reason for fearing it was that the public might take unction at the clearly evident liberal use of money.

William L. Douglas, the shoe manufacturer, broke the political advertising ice by using, in making himself Governor, a utility that had been invaluable to him in becoming one of the world's richest shoe makers. Since then millions upon millions have been deflected from other and often immoral uses for the purchase of "display advertising" for urging political wares upon the voter.

Still, parenthetically, political advertising in the modern-day sense is so new that the writer does not know of a single man in this country who could be considered an expert in handling such publicity. Up to date the theories of business advertising have usually prevailed, causing results too often much lower than the expenditures should make possible. For there is wide difference between the "psychology" of selling and that of vote-getting.

Not only in campaigning methods is revolution working, but change of method is in evidence all along the line of political organization and pursuit.

EFFICIENCY IN THE COMING CAMPAIGN METHODS

UNTIL a few years ago party organizations, excepting a few concentrated institutions like Tammany Hall, were very nebulous. During nine-tenths of the time they existed merely on paper. They would be inspirited by campaigns after which they showed little life, though sometimes considerable appetite, until the next election approached. During the interval between elections the various chairmen would be the organizations and as a rule, even with the chairmen of the big national committees, the positions were more honorary than managerial except in the job-getting sense. This condition is ceasing to exist. It is being found that campaigns ignored until the day for campaigning are lost before they are begun. Perhaps the prime secret of Tammany Hall's vitality is that the organization is never allowed to

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drift into lassitude. It is eternally alive, busy, actively on the job. There is no immorality in that kind of efficiency; indeed, it of itself is commendable.

The continuous campaign is now emerging on a national scale. Neither of the big national committees has closed shop for as much as a week during the past six years. However, until two years ago the continuing organizations of both were rather nominal and perfunctory. Since the last campaign, both committees have maintained live and energetic permanent headquarters, and, oddly, both establishments have been domiciled in the same Washington City office building. Each has preserved the records of the last Presidential campaign and, without a break, has been preparing for the next Presidential campaign. Meantime, they look after by-elections and State contests and the running affairs of their various parties. Incidentally, a complete and systematic record is now kept of every operation on the part of the big national committees, and it is presumably open to inspection and is preserved permanently.

The Permanent Headquarters of the Democratic National Committee, its party being in the supremacy, has been conducted on the most elaborate scale perhaps that the country has ever before known. The work is directed by salaried experts under the supervision of an executive committee and consists of the systematic extension and perfection of the party organization with regular publicity and agitation in behalf of the party's tenets.

The Republican National Committee has carried on similar work, but apparently on a smaller scale.

Other party units have adopted the Permanent Headquarters idea and in many places State committees are looking after their party's interests as systematically between as during campaigns. Governor Whitman has urged that the New York State Republican Chairman be put on a $10,000 salary and required to give all of his time to party work.

Invariably the regular work is done in a businesslike manner and mostly by mail. Men—and women, too, for most

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of them have their women's bureaus—who attend to the regular work are paid salaries just as are the officials or executives of a corporation. Funds for its support come as a rule from voluntary contributions.

Instead of the new method concentrating and heightening whatever evils there may be in party rule, it tends to decentralize and minimize the dangers existing in party government. For it seems to bring and keep into touch with party management the widely distributed and diversified units or party organization. It supplies machinery through which the humblest member of the party can urge his views or lodge his protests.

FAR REACHING CAMPAIGN ORGANIZATIONS

THERE are in each of the two big party organizations, that is to say members of regular committees which figure in party management, about one hundred thousand persons. They are perhaps the two most representative of all national organizations, for they extend to the remotest communities in the country and are evenly distributed. The method of selection naturally causes persons of energy and enterprise to be chosen on party committees. In the qualities of intelligence, public-spirit and aggressiveness those organizations are perhaps the superior of any other in the country. They are peculiarly American, for no other country has evolved such unique institutions as our national party organizations.

Yet those organizations have rarely been used—if ever at all before last year—for purposes other than partisan, and as a whole during only the brief periods of campaigns for any purposes at all. Great power for good, aside from party considerations, lies in those immense and perfectly distributed organizations. It is probable that some power for evil lies in them, too; for it can be imagined how, under unscrupulous direction, they might be misemployed. But their very immensity and diversity minimizes such danger. It is rendered further negligible just to the degree that those organizations are strengthened by improvement in personnel, which

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results from their enlivenment as bodies of continuing aggressiveness.

A few weeks before the draft registrations took place in June of last year, Chairman McCormick of the Democratic, and Chairman Wilcox of the Republican National Committee, jointly signed a letter which went to all the committeemen of both parties, urging them to co-operate in making the registration work a success. And committeemen of both parties worked hand in hand in rendering help.

In several States, the two party organizations have been employed in facilitating other war work.

There is no reason why they shouldn't be available for a great deal of non-partisan patriotic endeavor, and if perfected and inspirited can be of great value as national assets in non-partisan ways.

The foregoing are a few of the evidences of and deductions from the changes that are working in American political method, changes that are being hastened to completion by the war.

Partisan politics as stated is being reduced to a basis of mixed business and science. Emotionalism, like oratory, is disappearing or rather is being held in subjection. So-called strategy, or that form partaking of trickery, never did count for much and while still in some use is being routed out by methods as coldly methodical as those by which a big manufacturing concern sells and distributes its product.

These changes are in little measure due to reformatory legislation. They are due more to an enlightened public opinion. There is not a corrupt practices act, or an act regulating campaign contributions, the purposes of which cannot be easily evaded without resort to so much as perjury. Strangely, every advance toward purity in politics has increased the running expenses of campaigns. More money than ever before is needed now in the conduct of a successful canvass.

Excepting the force of public opinion, the biggest cause of the changes in political methods are the politicians themselves. They have learned that hard plugging efficiency is

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superior to spasmodic skill no matter how highly the latter may partake of genius.

NEUTRALIZING THE POLITICAL JOB

NEW types of political managers and workers are coming to the front. The old motive forces of practical politics, like jobs and favors, are disappearing or being reduced in importance. Of some 200,000 government office-holders and job-holders in Washington City right now a majority probably belong to the minority party, that is so far as they belong to any party at all. Indeed, most of them would likely disclaim any party affiliation. The tendency of modern politics is to neutralize the job holder. This tendency is provocative of some interesting speculations. One is the development of a class of professional government workers cut off entirely from the operating machinery of politics. When it is remembered that, even in normal times, more than a million persons, or about one out of each hundred of the population, are supported in some way by government the wide possible ramifications of such a tendency may be imagined.

Anyway, "patronage" is no longer the inspiriting political force it once was. One reason for this is the neutralization of government employes through the extension of the civil service idea and the other is the decreasing attractiveness of government employment. The science of modern politics is calling more and more for ability superior to that which finds satisfaction in poorly paying public positions.

Special interests are ceasing also to be a source of sustenance for political activity. The old type of boss directed machine is being relegated. But the new politics is being built very largely on the scientific methods discovered by those richly denounced evils. With them corruption was only one method employed, and usually a last resort. No number of corrupt millions would have sustained Boss Cox of Cincinnati throughout his long reign had he been deprived of the card-index system by which he marshalled his voters as a general assembles an army. Tammany could not have been sustained by any amount of repeating, colonizing, and

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polls-rushing without its superb organization that is formed very much like an army, with responsible representatives extending down to city blocks. And so-called big business in late years has found it more advantageous to appeal directly to the public through carefully handled publicity, usually in the form of paid advertising, than by the surreptitious use of " yellow dog " funds.

The political organizations, good and bad, are learning the lesson of efficiency. They are learning it not only from methods employed for sinister purposes, but in themselves not sinister, but also from those employed by many non-partisan organizations. From a result-getting point of view, the most efficient organization of modern times having to do with things wholly or partially political is the Anti-Saloon League. And the politicians have learned a lot from it.

They have learned that there is nothing in politics so important to success or so effective at the polls as close and intelligent attention to details. They have learned also that they can find full employment for their energies in reaching and persuading the honest voters, and that crass corruption, in the old vote-buying sense, is wasteful and in a large measure futile.

The transformation from the old to the new political methods naturally is causing confusion and producing new problems. At present it tends to heighten factionalism and accentuate the personal equation.

It may be working also toward reducing party organizations to mere instruments for the functioning rather than for the creation and propulsion of opinion.

Just what kind of practical politics it will all culminate in, no one can do more than guess—and none are more lost as to the future than the practical politicians themselves.

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IS WORLD SECURITY POSSIBLE?

Opinions by Representative Americans Looking to Permanent Security After the War

The opinions of these famous Americans herewith quoted are a direct answer to this vital question. How this will be accomplished, and the manner in which the new adjustment of international affairs will come about, is stimulated by the ideas of these men whose opinions on the matter are of national importance.

We Shall Need a Moral Governor

By CARDINAL GIBBONS

AS proud as we are of the genius of our statesmen; wise as are our laws; noble as has been and is the patriotism of our people, our country rests upon a stronger basis than any or all of these. The recognition of a Moral Governor of the World, together with righteousness which exalteth a nation, have been the guiding principles from the very beginning.

It is to be hoped that the same eternal principles of truth, justice and righteousness will again hold first place in the "Win the War for Permanent Peace Convention." Only by such principles can nations live together in harmony and the world's history go on progressing. The doctrine of might and brute force must give way where the teachings of God find welcome and firm footing.

We Must Forego National Advantage

By HONORABLE OSCAR S. STRAUS

(*Former United States Ambassador to Turkey*)

THE real cause of this war and of past wars is that national development has been largely along the line that people owe boundless devotion to their own country and nothing whatever to any other country. The intensified national spirit, the extreme form of which is illustrated by the German militaristic Kultur, even in time of peace, causes a

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suspension of the moral law. This form of nationalism must be replaced by a higher form that recognizes that above loyalty to one's country are the obligations that every people owe to mankind. For this higher or supernational form the Allies have united. But for a willingness to forego national advantage for service to mankind, neither Great Britain nor America would have entered the war. In entering it they, together with our Allies, not in word, but in act, committed themselves not only to the defeat of German imperialism, but to the creation of new world conditions in which imperialism, with all it implies, cannot live, and in which all people shall have the fullest and freest opportunity for development and progress without the menace of conquest of domination.

A League of Nations

By ALTON B. PARKER

(*Democratic Candidate for Presidency in 1904*)

IN every field of war endeavor where either our Allies or ourselves think we may be helpful, we have gone with all the power we can summon, establishing in some of them the world's record of achievement. We had but a handful of soldiers when we entered the war a year ago. Already over half a million of our soldiers are with the armies of our Allies. Thousands are joining them every month, and more of our young men are being called to the colors, and the calls will be repeated as fast as we can make ready for them, until millions of the sons of the United States shall march with the splendid men of our Allies to the final victory over Germany.

Then will come the establishment of a league of the nations to enforce the peace of the world.

An Educated Electorate Necessary

By ROBERT McNUTT McELROY, Ph.D.

(*Head of the Department of History, Princeton University*)

LET there be no mistake in the minds of American patriots. We must fight Germany in the trenches until the trenches are destroyed, and we must fight German Kultur entrenched

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in our schools until those trenches too are destroyed. By hasty propaganda we must give to our people unity of language and unity of thought, for only by thinking as a nation can we act as a nation. Our people must know that slacker and pacifist alike are but bidding for fetters for themselves and their descendants.

Then, after having beaten Germany and destroyed her propaganda engines, we must face the task of proving that a free America can do, with efficiency, precision and self-sacrifice, everything which autocracy has shown itself able to do. An educated electorate is the only foundation upon which a real democracy can be built, and in America we have never given democracy a chance, for we have never had a soundly educated electorate. We must have it. History will write failure over every democracy except the one founded upon knowledge by the mass of the people.

The Perverted Pacifist Ideal

By JOHN SPARGO

(*Secretary of the National Party*)

WE must be on guard against that perverted idealism which, in a hundred subtle ways, undermines the national morale and thus becomes a valuable ally of the Kaiser, however unintended that result may be.

Internationalism, in its highest and best sense, is a beautiful ideal which has inspired the noblest of our human kind. The growing unity of peoples, the ever-increasing strength and number of the ties of common understanding and interest binding nations together, and the progressive development of international organizations are among the greatest accomplishments of modern civilization. The genius of this mighty nation, its traditions, its institutions and its culture are in full harmony with that healthy and wholesome internationalism. President Wilson has become the foremost spokesman of a sound internationalism because he voices the ideals and sympathies of America. We are a nation of internationalists. We have envied the progress of no nation, but have rejoiced in the progress of all nations. We have sought

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dominion over no people, but have extended the hand of friendship and fraternity to all peoples, great and small alike. As befits a great democracy, we have taken a foremost place in the effort to prepare the way for that "Federation of the World" so long foreseen and foresung.

The New Order of International Co-operation

By WILLIAM ENGLISH WALLING

(Economist and Author, "Russia's Message," "Socialism of To-Day")

THE road to international co-operation is clear; it is—international co-operation—beginning at once with the nations already in a mood to co-operate, and then gradually including the rest—first, at any cost, the remaining neutrals—then Germany's vassal allies—and, finally, though it may take years of decades, Germany herself.

If this tendency, so rapidly developed since the war, is checked or reversed, there is no prospect either for a permanent peace league or for the elimination of the economic causes of the war. If, on the contrary, the tendency is further developed, while the democratic league becomes wholly predominant economically, attracting neutrals and detaching Germany's allies, the situation is entirely hopeful. Every step that the free peoples take in the direction of economic co-operation and interdependence, every new nation that is brought into this circle, will make its economic attractive power more irresistible and opposition more hopeless.

We Must Exploit Civilization

By JUDGE CHARLES BURKE ELLIOTT

(Of Minneapolis, Minn., formerly member of the Supreme Court, Philippine Islands, and of the Philippine Commission)

MANY thousand of dark-hued people from the borders and hinterland of civilization are fighting and dying under the Allied flags. They come from India, Africa, the Philippines and the islands of the eastern seas, but none of them come voluntarily to fight with the Central Powers. For what and against what are they fighting? They represent a

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third of the inhabitants of the earth, the retarded races, backward people in many of whom, during the decade immediately preceding the war, the spirit of nationality was active. They realize that the future of which they were dreaming lies with the champions of freedom, with the people who recognize the right of self-determination, who have shown themselves willing to lead upward and that the triumph of absolutism means the crushing of their hopes, the denial of their ambitions, and their reduction to political, industrial and military slavery.

The nations of the world, like the people of every state and community, are never of uniform capacity or development. The people who have lived and developed under the influence of certain general principles which they accept as expressing ideals of conduct and proper objects of desire and ambition constitute a system which, in a large way, we call a Civilization. Its limits, of course, are undefined and overlapping, but whether it be Eastern, Western, Christian, or Mohammedan, it stands for something distinct and understandable although difficult of definition. Within it may be antagonistic elements which lead to conflicts, but each state and each individual, in theory at least, recognizes that conduct should conform to certain ideals. A civilization is thus characterized by its ideals of life, its conceptions of right and wrong, and of the proper relations of man to man, state to state, and the state to its citizens or subjects.

American Versus Prussian Ideals

By DR. RICHARD HEATH DABNEY

(*University of Virginia*)

THE two men who best embody the American and the Prussian ideals respectively are Patrick Henry and Frederick the Great. The latter, you remember, carried upon his person, during the Seven Years' War, a vial of poison—to be swallowed if ever the time should come when his and Prussia's power must fall. Dominion or death! These were the alternatives for Frederick the Prussian. Not so for Patrick Henry the American, whose immortal words might

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well be adopted today as our battle-cry and that of our heroic Allies: "I know not what others may say; but as for me, give me liberty, or give me death!"

The Amphictyonic Council

By U. S. SENATOR JOHN SHARP WILLIAMS

LOOKING on the holocaust caused by a mad Emperor's ambition and egotistic and insane assumption that God and he are one and that "The State," which he imagines he is, is also the only permitted God of his miseducated subjects —civilization—the Amphictyonic Council of the civilized world—declares, with a certain division of British soldiers while going into action: "Never again; never again." We democracies make war not for love of war but for love of world peace and with the determination to have it—"Peace on earth to men of good will"; and as to others with a determination to whip them until they are, or at least pretend to be, of good will.

But this is really no time to talk peace. That time will come practically only when Germany and Austria vacate France and Belgium and Servia, when Germany retires behind the Rhine and when the German Reichstag—the Kaiser by himself is not sufficient because we cannot believe him and his very breath is poisoned gas, while his thoughts are insane obsessions—when the Reichstag by solemn resolution asks what terms we propose. In the very nature of the case, in this war between medieval autocracies and insane obsession of rule by divine right and the doctrine that for a state there are no morals but that might is right, on one side, and common sense democracies—knowing that a state is but a piece of human machinery erected by men to secure national independence and the rights of man to life, liberty, pursuit of happiness, justice and love and mercy and peace on earth, the present powers of Germany must be the suitors for and we the grantors of peace. No peace arrived at in any other way can be either just or enduring, much less contain the hope of world freedom, safety for democracy or the elements of permanency.

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SPEEDING-UP NORTH DAKOTA

By LYNN J. FRAZIER
[GOVERNOR OF THE STATE OF NORTH DAKOTA]

THE pressure of war legislation which the public sentiment of the State of North Dakota compelled, because of its universal sentiment endorsing the war aims of the administration, effected certain new acts of the State Legislature.

It is perhaps well known that North Dakota, with its odd 70,000 square miles of area, is a very large grain and live stock producer. The year preceding our declaration of war, 1916, our crop was very light all over the State. The wheat crop of 1917 was almost a total failure in two-thirds of the State, but fair in many sections. Our banner year was 1915. The situation is perhaps more understandable by a brief comparative table showing the yield for three years.

Year—	1915 Bushels	1916 Bushels	1917 Bushels
Yield, per acre....	18.2	5.5	8.0
Total yield	151,970,000	39,325,000	56,000,000

During a special session of the 15th Legislative Assembly held in Bismarck, in January, 1918, an important amendment permitting a special issue of seed and grain bonds was enacted. This amendment was partly the result of the failure of the crops, but chiefly it became necessary because of the war measures required of all states in support of the administration. In 1913 a law authorizing counties to issue bonds and warrants to procure seed, grain and feed for needy inhabitants and permitting the aid by the State for this purpose was created. The amendment to this law, made in 1918, speeded up its effect.

Briefly the amendment authorized in any county of the State where the crops for any preceding year had been a total or partial failure by reason of growth, hail, or other causes,

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that the Board of County Commissioners should issue County bonds, and with the proceeds from the sale thereof purchase seed, grain and feed for those who were unable to procure the same. The amendment required that this request be made to the Board of County Commissioners by fifty freeholders in the county, in writing. Such petitions were then considered, and decided upon by a majority of the vote. These petitions, the amendment said, had to be filed with the county auditor on or before the 25th day of February. It was further understood in this amendment that the total amount of bonds issued should not exceed the limit of indebtedness of any county fixed by the State Constitution. The bonds were made in denominations of from $100 to $500 bearing a six per cent interest, payable semi-annually. Such bonds, under this special law, were due and payable in not less than one nor more than five years from the date of issue.

These bonds so issued were placed on sale through the Commissioner of Agriculture and Labor. Sealed proposals for the purchase of such bonds were sent to him. The bonds of each county were sold separately to the highest bidder for cash. It was within the provision of this amendment that the Commissioner of Agriculture could dispose of these bonds to the State of North Dakota without previous notice.

The fund raised from the sales of these bonds was applied exclusively for the purchase of seed, grain and feed for residents of the State who had farm lands within the county and were unable to procure the same. This amendment naturally was the result of crop deficiencies in the State, and was inspired by applications for aid from different counties. Each applicant was compelled to state the number of acres plowed or prepared for seeding; how many acres the applicant intended to have plowed; how many bushels and what kind of grain he would require to seed the ground already plowed. He had to state that the seed and feed he requested was to be used only for the purpose named, and an agreement that he would not sell on or before the 20th of March and the applicant agreed to seed the wheat and rye before

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May 20th, and all other grain before June 10th, except grain, sown for fodder. The applicant also had to state and give a full description of all his real and personal property, the encumbrances thereon, and a further description of the land on which said seed was to grow. The cost of this seed was payable by the farmer on October 1st of each year, together with the interest from the date the bonds provided for. The grain was furnished at cost. The Commissioner of Agriculture and Labor was given an appropriation of three thousand dollars, and the State Seed Commissioner an appropriation of one thousand dollars to be used in organization and seed testing expenses.

COUNTY BONDS ISSUED STIMULATED WHEAT CROPS

IT seemed necessary and proper that the State of North Dakota should enact suitable legislation to aid and assist destitute and needy farmers who by reason of natural causes had become so. This law was made in the best interest of the state and it was specially provided that as an act it should be liberally construed to effect that privilege. It was an act of emergency created by a crop failure in many parts of the State. There was no adequate relief provided by law until then.

Fully half of the counties in the state availed themselves of its provisions, and bonds to the extent of $3,000,000 were issued at a net cost to the counties concerned of about six and one-half per cent, exclusive of those counties that borrowed from the state school and institutional funds at an interest rate of four per cent. The necessity for paying the higher rate was caused by exhaustion of the school funds available for loaning purposes. Had the farmers availing themselves of the new act been compelled to borrow from ordinary banking sources, the rate charged would have been ten per cent. Undoubtedly the increase in wheat acreage for 1918 of 700,000 acres over the acreage of 1917 was due to the enactment of this law, as the credit of many farmers availing themselves of it was absolutely exhausted in other directions.

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I know of no other state in which legislation of this kind was proposed, although the far Western States are often exposed to disaster or storms and drought.

The North Dakota Council of Defense was created as one of the first war measures. It consisted of the Governor and thirteen members, one of which was the Attorney General, and each one of the others was appointed by the Governor from each judicial district of the State. The first meeting of the North Dakota Council of Defense was held at the office of the Governor, and its powers effected. No member of the Council received any compensation other than travelling and necessary expenses in the course of duty. The Secretary received $5 a day during his actual service to the Council. Our powers and duties involved chiefly co-operation with the Commissioner of Agriculture and Labor, consultation with farmers and others to relieve the labor shortage, and conferences with the North Dakota Federal Fuel and Food Administrators to stimulate and increase productional food and economy. In our state we felt that the best service we could give the administration in the war was to speed up our farmland, to conserve our food and fuel. In regard to laws governing the peace and safety of the State, the North Dakota Council of Defense prescribes rules and regulations for the citizens who were not a part of active militia. Each member of the Council has the same powers as the sheriff of the several counties. It is the duty of the Council to promote patriotism and loyalty to the Government, and to guard the interests of humanity. The Governor, under the special war powers and the laws of the constitution of the State could instruct any member of the Council to perform such duties as he thought advisable. The North Dakota Council of Defense is created for the duration of the war and for the period of six months thereafter.

From the first declaration of war, public sentiment in the State of North Dakota has been unanimous in endorsing the aims of the United States. The purposes of the administration in declaring war against Germany has met with a wholehearted approval in all sections of the State. Every Liberty

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Loan has been greatly oversubscribed; in the second Liberty Loan drive the percentage of oversubscription was the greatest in the United States. The subscription raised by the Red Cross, by conservative estimate, amounts to $1,205,000. The allotment of the Red Cross on the second drive in the State of North Dakota was $200,000 and the contribution total $575,000. North Dakota holds the seventh place in these records in the Red Cross campaign.

THE STATE'S RESPONSE TO WAR NEEDS

THE allotment to North Dakota of the Y. M. C. A. drive was $100,000. Something over $175,000 was raised.

The quota of North Dakota in the Lutheran Soldier Fund was $25,000. This was oversubscribed by more than twice that amount. The work of other church societies has been equally gratifying.

The military activities of the State showed an enlistment in the first and second regiment of 3,887. Of men within the draft age, 2,355 enlisted and 2,625 were drafted. This does not include any record after December 15th. The cost of this draft during the first six months of the war shows that the lowest cost per capita of any state was North Dakota, which was $1.83. Among the significant orders of the North Dakota Council of Defense was a resolution adopted whereby idle land in the State might be cultivated. As a result over 50,000 acres have been cropped that would have been idle. The protection of the property of soldiers have been especially vigorous in our State. We compelled two banks to reimburse the wives of soldiers for illegal seizure of soldiers' goods.

A military moratorium was passed during the special session for war emergency of the State Legislature to protect and regulate the civil rights of members of the military and naval establishment. All proceedings against any person in active military service from the State of North Dakota has been treated as void. This was considered necessary because large numbers of the citizens of the State were absent on military service.

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An act protecting the citizens from criminal sabotage was passed as a war measure. It was calculated to protect the food products of the State, the harvest fields, and to prevent any interference in the prosecution of the war measure of the State.

Taken as a whole, the loyalty of the State of North Dakota compares favorably with any other state of the Union to the war measures of the Government. The willingness with which the citizens of the State supported every war measure of the State Defense Council has made the operations of that body easily effective. The new Feed and Seed Bondings Act, of which I have spoken, enabled the farmers to get something over three million dollars at an interest rate which does not exceed six and one-half per cent. The Board of University and School Land bought one million dollars' worth of these bonds at four per cent.

The women of North Dakota have contributed executive force in the war energies of the State that should be told.

WHAT THE WOMEN OF DAKOTA ARE DOING

THE organization of the North Dakota Division of the Women's Committee was begun at Fargo on September 29, 1917. At that time it was resolved to follow the plan suggested by the national committee, and request the women who had been selected to conduct war work by governmental departments, to act as chairman of those departments for the Woman's Division, to elect a state chairman and secretary, and to offer co-operation to the State Council of Defense.

Following this meeting the Chairmen of the Liberty Loan Department, the Child Welfare Department and the Food Department appointed chairmen in each county. No organization was undertaken in the counties at that time, each department acting independently.

On February 26, 1918, the State Committee, consisting of the department chairmen and representatives from each state-wide woman's organization in North Dakota met in Bismarck for the purpose of perfecting the organization of

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the Woman's Division in accordance with the request of the national committee.

The Child Welfare Department has succeeded in having a majority of the communities conduct very thorough campaigns for education along baby welfare lines. They have recorded the weights and measurements of over seven thousand babies. Plans are now being made for a " Recreational Drive " to take place during July and August.

The Food Department has taken charge of the demonstrations in preparation of foods, baking with substitutes, canning and drying of fruits and vegetables, etc., in all the counties of the state. They have arranged to have competent women of the community in which the demonstrations provided by the State Agricultural College are given, take the course offered, and then give it to three groups of women in the surrounding country. These women have provided their own transportation and materials and given their services voluntarily. By this means it is safe to say that a large per cent of the women in the state have received instruction in this matter. The food department has distributed the recipes for using substitutes for wheat and sugar. These are provided by the Agricultural College extension bureau, but the Committee has placed them in the hands of women who will use them. The food department has also distributed recipes printed in the German language among women who cannot read the English language. These were printed and given by F. L. Brandt of Bismarck free of charge, being translations of the recipes given out by the College. Demonstrations have also been given in the German language to women who are unable to understand English. It is announced by the food department that in communities where the demonstrations are given the use of white flour decreases materially, proving that when women know the need of saving the wheat, and have knowledge of how to use the substitutes they will do so.

The County chairmen have conducted an educational campaign in their respective counties. They have caused meetings to be held in schoolhouses, town halls and little

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churches where plain talks are given about the causes of the war, and the consequences if it should be lost. The need of support for all war measures as they pertain to women is urged. After these meetings a marked increase in Red Cross activity is always noted. Each county executive committee has named a few women who are prepared to go to the different communities and give these talks, all paying their own expenses. Americanization is promoted at these little meetings. Women of all nationalities are urged to take part, and though progress in this is slow, it is sure.

Mrs. A. A. Burce has been requested by the state executive committee to carry on the campaign for the use of lignite coal. It is thought that if the women of the State demand lignite coal for domestic purposes it will be possible to make North Dakota "Coal Herself" to a great extent. There is much interest in this campaign, and many counties report actual work accomplished in the way of pledges given by women to use it for all heating and cooking in their homes.

Mrs. A. A. Liederbach has made a survey of the State for the purpose of ascertaining where, if anywhere, it will be necessary for women to assist in harvesting, or to help the farmers' wives at that time. She wrote to every county chairman asking for information concerning that county. From the replies, Mrs. Liederbach has concluded that women's labor will not be needed in the fields to any great extent, at least not in excess of what can be furnished by the farmers' families. But she thinks some organized effort should be made for unemployed women to assist the farmers' wives. Letters are now being sent to each county chairman requesting her to take the matter up in her own county as seems most expedient.

The aim of the Woman's Committee is to enlist the cooperation of all women's organizations, and all government agencies, and thereby create a machine which will carry the message of the government to every woman in the State, of what it wants her to do, why it wants her to do it, and how she may do it. This machine is now ready for business, and is running smoothly in North Dakota.

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BEHIND THE SERVICE FLAG

What the Home Service Is Doing for the Soldiers' and Sailors' Families

By MRS. THOMAS R. MARSHALL
[WIFE OF THE VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES]

Keeping the home fires burning literally as well as relieving cases of distress and giving comfort and advice to the loved ones at home, is the work of this great league of Home Service, so eloquently set forth by the wife of the Vice-President of the United States, for THE FORUM.

BEHIND the thousands of red-bordered Service Flags that hang in the windows of rich and poor alike, is a whole army of people fighting silent battles; an army of old men and women, of mothers and little children, struggling with poverty and disease, loneliness and anxiety. Upon the outcome of these struggles depends—in no slight measure—the success of the army at the front. When a soldier in France hears that the allotment which he made has not come in, or that his baby is sick, or that his old mother is failing daily because of her worry about him, or that his wife is nearly crazy with sheer loneliness; a heavy burden of anxiety and worry is laid upon his shoulders. The homesickness he naturally feels in a strange land is accentuated and intensified a thousand fold. The individual troubles of one soldier may seem trivial, may even be half imaginary, but homesickness and anxiety are contagious, and the multiplied depression of a whole regiment is a fearful thing. That subtle and illusive thing, the morale of an army, may break completely before such a wave of depression and anxiety. The Italian debacle of last autumn is now considered to have been due largely to worry about home conditions among the troops. Troubles at home, some false and stimulated by German agents, had simply been reflected at the front.

On the other hand, there is a spirit at home that can work just as effectively the other way,—the spirit of people who may be meeting hardships, but are meeting them bravely

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and, above all, all meeting them together. The spirit of mutual help and cooperation at home, the sense of many people facing together a great and terrible crisis, may breed a new strength and a new sympathy that shall be a source of inspiration, not depression, to our soldiers.

This, it seems to me, is the important thing that the Home Service Section of the Red Cross has undertaken to do;—"to sustain the morale of the men in the Service by helping to maintain, through friendly counsel and neighborly assistance, the welfare of their families at home, assuring for them health, good spirits and, so far as possible, their normal standards of life." A pretty big problem, you may well say, but one that was inspired by a patriotic desire to do something, not only for families who had sent a man to the colors, but also for the soldiers themselves. The gunner, squatting beside his camouflaged field piece, will be a little quicker to spring up at the word of command and will handle the heavy shells more deftly because of the good news he has had from home. His wife, a newcomer in her neighborhood, had been worrying about who would look after her two-year-old son, when she had to go to the hospital to have another baby. Her difficulties were settled in the Home Service Office, where she found another woman who was only too glad to give the child a good home for the sake of the money his board would bring.

LOOKING AFTER THE SOLDIER'S HOME TIES

THE boy on outpost duty, lying along the limb of a blasted tree, can see the dim line of trenches opposite with clearer eyes, just because he too is more at ease about his home. His old invalid mother has written a more contented letter than he has had for months. A visitor from the Home Service Section is coming in every afternoon to read aloud to her and is teaching her to knit socks for him.

That is what "friendly counsel and neighborly advice" mean. They do not necessarily mean money. The Government attends to that through the War Risk Insurance Act. But if for some reason the allotment and allowance have not

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come through, the Home Service Section will see to it that the family does not suffer from the delay. Sometimes a family crisis, a serious illness, or death, may make it necessary for the Home Service to give a family a sum of money or even a weekly allowance. But this is done simply as a temporary measure to help them on their feet again or to save some man at the front anxiety and suffering on their account.

As a rule, the troubles that can be solved by a sum of money are simple in comparison to those involving other subtler derangement. One young wife wrote to her husband, in a camp in this country, that if he did not come home to see her, she would commit suicide. The man deserted and was discovered at home by a Home Service worker (sent to look him up by a telegram from the Camp Service Field Director). After some persuasion the man went back to camp to take his punishment,—which would have been much greater had he postponed returning as long as he first intended. Another young woman was resentful because her neighbors told her that her husband could have gotten an exemption if he had wanted it simply by saying that he was married. The wife decided that he did not love her any longer and was glad to go. But when a Home Service worker had carefully explained the provisions of the draft law, the woman stopped fretting and sent more reasonable letters to her soldier husband.

Troubles like this do not end with the solution of the immediate difficulty, as every Home Service worker knows. Loneliness is usually the fundamental reason for unhappiness and the Home Service worker who does her work thoroughly will try to get the lonely woman interested in something outside of herself, in some kind of work or useful employment.

Often it is not work, but play, that this lonely woman needs. One family was set upon its feet again, from the point of view of morale, by the simple device of sending the mother out to a movie with her children. She was a Russian Pole with a saddened, wrinkled face and a heavy despondent air.

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Since her oldest son had been drafted she had become more and more depressed. It was hard to make both ends meet, and the struggle left her neither time nor money for amusements. She found her younger children increasingly hard to manage and impatient of her complaints. Then one night a Home Service worker gave the oldest boy tickets for a nearby moving-picture theatre. That hour in the dark, hot room was the first for weeks that Mrs. S. had forgotten her troubles. Her neighbors around her were laughing; her own four small Americans-in-the-making were enthralled and happy; the picture itself amused and interested her. When she came out on the brightly lighted street into the jostling crowd, she paused to speak to a neighbor for the first time in many days. The strain of her heart had been eased for a little time, and with that easing had come a brighter point of view.

ADVICE TO THE TOO PROSPEROUS AT HOME

TOO much money is not a common complaint these days, yet you sometimes hear it said of some of the families with which the Home Service Section comes into contact. In the country districts, especially, there are people who have not been accustomed to have as large a sum as the man's allotment and the Government's allowance can amount to. A poor colored woman, for example, who has never had enough to live on comfortably, comes suddenly into possession of that is, to her, a large sum. Naturally she is not always wise in the ways in which she spends the money. She usually does spend it on clothes, on "good times," sometimes on worse things. Her children are being neglected, her home is becoming demoralized, bad influences for growing boys and girls are increasing. Then it is that some one who can understand her point of view must meet the situation. The Home Service worker who can persuade her to part with some of her wealth for liberty bonds; to let her oldest boy go to high school now instead of to work; to buy fewer gay ribbons and feathers and some furnishings for her home, has made a real contribution to the service of her country.

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After all, what we need most of in the Home Service Offices are people who are real students of human nature; who have an unflagging interest in their fellow humans and an unfailing patience with human faultiness. They must be able to understand people with whom they come in contact, and still not condemn. Most of all, they must judge themselves. The Home Service worker must realize keenly that she cannot take the place of the man who has gone to the front; that her friendliest efforts cannot make up to little Maria for Tony who enlisted when we declared war against Austria, nor to Stella for Stanislaus now in France. But her advice may be of use to them; money, until the allotment comes, is of use. If she be a truly understanding person she may win confidence from Stella or a confession of loneliness from Maria—for of such things are friendly human relationships made.

Besides being a student of human nature, the Home Service worker must be a student of many other things. She must acquire a thorough knowledge of various Government laws and regulations;—the War Risk Insurance Act especially. She must know something of business; of educational institutions and opportunities in her own community; of local agencies and organizations such as churches, schools, playgrounds, day-nurseries, etc. The better she knows the chief personages in her district, the better for her work. These vary sometimes, from the saloonkeeper to the parish priest, and generally include the visiting nurse, the principal of the school, the justice of the peace, the playground director, besides policeman, postman, and car-conductor.

WHAT THE HOME SERVICE WORKER MUST DO

THE larger Home Service Sections usually have consultation committees of doctors, lawyers and others familiar with business and the professions, as well as women who understand economics and management. But these are only called on in case of real need. For most of her general knowledge, the Home Service worker must depend upon her own resourcefulness and ability. She must learn for herself

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how to find the right sort of work for sixteen-year-old Mary; she should know what to do when the insurance policy has lapsed; and she certainly must know whom to call on when she finds little black Sammy "whooping" vigorously, yet playing with the rest of the children in the neighborhood.

The continuous succession of problems are not always easy to solve. The constant series of other people's troubles are sometimes wearying, but I think most of us who have tried Home Service work, find it eminently worth while.

Since war was declared, the Red Cross has organized Home Service Sections in nearly 5,000 Chapters which cover almost every square foot of our country. There are probably 10,000 Home Service committees including those in the branches of Chapters. Over 300,000 families have been helped with continuing assistance based upon a definite plan for the removal of serious difficulties and over $2,500,000 has been spent doing it. In addition many more thousands of relatives of soldiers have been given accurate and helpful information of various kinds. It must be a relief to many a soldier to know that his family can apply to the Red Cross, not only for help in any difficulty, but also for medical, legal and social advice. He is giving a great deal to his country when he leaves to go to war and his country is trying to repay that debt through the American Red Cross Home Service. If we at home honestly fulfil our obligation to the man at the front, we shall free him, insofar as we are able, from anxiety about the family he has left behind. We will help win the battles that are fought back of the Service Flag that hangs in the window.

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AMERICANIZING OUR FOREIGN-BORN

The Patriotic Work of the League of Foreign Born Citizens

By ROYAL DIXON

AUTHOR OF "AMERICANIZATION," ETC.

Before the war clouds hovered over Europe, Mr. Phillips, founder of the League of Foreign Born Citizens, foresaw the necessity of Americanizing the immigrant. The immigrant responded and today the work of this League is one of vital service and distinctive educational value to the nation of today and of tomorrow.

UNITY is the watchword of civilization to-day, and in America we are taking practical steps to nationalize our people of numerous races and tongues. One of the most patriotic and successful endeavors in this direction is being accomplished by the League of Foreign Born Citizens.

This organization came into being in response to a natural law. It has grown spontaneously, as a result of a demand not previously filled. Its origin lay in the fundamental desire of every human being to realize himself more fully, and through recognition of the fact that this can only be accomplished by banding together for a discussion of common problems, a sharing of common joys and sorrows, and a stimulation of common ideals of social service and human brotherhood.

The League was founded in December, 1913, by Nathaniel Phillips, a lawyer, a product of the New York Public Schools, of the College of the City of New York and of the New York University. Mr. Phillips is himself foreign born, having come from Russian Poland thirty odd years ago, while less than a year old. His foreign ancestry, together with his American training and his innate appreciation of democracy's ideals, gave him that insight, sym-

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pathy and understanding which eminently fit him to be the head of such an organization,—a civic leader and social interpreter.

When the idea of helping the immigrant first took definite form, neither Mr. Phillips nor the four men associated with him believed that the little organization they started would so soon win national recognition and become a force in the nation to sustain and support it in an hour of world crisis.

It was in a little room on East Third Street in New York City that the League started. Its national offices are now at 303 Fifth Avenue; its Downtown branch is at 95 Second Avenue (been designated as one of the centres for War Information). It has a Staten Island and a Yorkville branch and travelling branches at various settlement houses and community centers. During the first year its membership grew from five to five hundred and at the present time it numbers more than 3,000. Good moral character is the only requisite for admission to membership.

HELPED ALL RACES, CREEDS AND CLASSES

WHEN it started, enthusiasm and idealism were the League's sole assets. Over the door hung this sign:

Are you an American Citizen?
If Not, Why Not?
We Will Help You, Free, To Become a Citizen.
Come In. You Are Welcome.

It was displayed in three languages. Daily crowds passed the little room on East Third Street before a single inquirer dared venture in. Many interested ones had passed it by, fearful lest it was another unscrupulous enterprise in disguise, aiming at private profit by exploiting the simple confidence and civic interest of foreign-born residents. That such practices were possible reflects upon our national and municipal consideration of those who come to our shores seeking to become an integral part of our civic

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and social structure. It emphasizes a neglect in a matter of the utmost national importance. In the past we have left the newly arrived immigrant unattended and unaided. We had left him at the mercy of an industrial system which dealt with the foreigner perfunctorily, utilizing his man power but giving him little opportunity for the cultivation of his human aspirations.

Ours is a nation of many races, creeds, classes and contacts. It has been formed of the free born spirits of the world, come here seeking opportunity. We are dedicated to the ideal of equality of opportunity for all. We are a commonwealth in which the greatest good can be realized only when every individual member of the body politic is exercising, to his best and fullest capacities, the faculties of head and hands and heart.

Knowing this we have, nevertheless, in the past, done practically nothing to properly nationalize our newly arrived immigrants.

The object of the League of the Foreign Born Citizens helps carry out this great opportunity in our national life. Its object is directly and indirectly to do effective service in a field both officially and unofficially long neglected.

THE NEED OF A BETTER UNDERSTANDING RECOGNIZED

THERE had existed many organizations formed for the purpose of aiding those newly arrived at our shores; but their efforts were centered upon facilitating the immigrant's entrance into America and rendering easier his first days in the new country. There their function ceased; and at that point the League takes up the problem of interpreting America to the newcomer and assisting him in his social and civic assimilation.

The League recognized that there is great need of a better understanding not only between the citizens and the newcomers but also between the younger and the older generations of the immigrants themselves. The younger element becomes Americanized more quickly. This often leads to impatience and intolerance on the part of the younger citizens;

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they lose sight of their parents' viewpoint and get out of sympathy with their general attitude toward the questions of the day. They find it difficult to readily conform their parents to new moulds.

To breach this gulf and to foster a better understanding, the League is organizing social groups, giving lectures, and educating the foreign-born through the columns of the press. The work is divided into a number of bureaus, and these are conducted by volunteer workers who give their services without any remuneration whatever.

The Bureau of Naturalization attends to applicants for citizenship, informing them concerning questions of eligibility, and all other details pertaining to taking out first papers and becoming an American citizen. The Naturalization work is divided into three grades. Applicants are assisted in the preparation of their citizenship papers; taught to read and write English and by arrangement with the County Clerk's office, their blanks are stamped with the signature of the League, and the naturalization clerks readily issue the official first papers to applicants presenting the stamped blanks. Applicants have, by this means, saved hours and often days when they come to the County Clerk's office with their blanks fully prepared for them at the League.

Applicants for second papers are aided in the preparation of the blanks for their second papers and are assisted in obtaining their Certificate of Arrival.

Classes in the history and principles of our government are held. Applicants are instructed in the meaning of our Constitution and are taught to answer questions necessary for a proper appreciation of American institutions.

HOW TO HELP THE FOREIGN BORN

THE League found an appalling inertness on the part of a vast number of immigrants toward taking the steps necessary for becoming citizens. The reasons were of course largely the inaccessibility of the naturalization courthouses and the time consumed in the making of the preliminary blanks at the Court. But more than these actual obstacles

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was the vague belief that the process itself was so difficult to understand and to overcome.

The foreign born are getting to know of the existence of the League and to understand that it welcomes prospective citizens; that it solves doubtful problems with regard to eligibility; that it saves them time and needless worry. In short, the very existence of the League has aroused citizenship activity amongst the people. The records contain the names of a number of applicants who have been in this country fifteen years, and some of them as long as twenty years, without having taken steps toward naturalization. They are now on their way toward citizenship.

The League hopes to bring about in New York City a method which is proving successful in Los Angeles, Cal., whereby great saving in time for prospective citizens and for the courts can be accomplished. The plans are as follows:

The members of the Naturalization Classes are to receive a diploma from the League at the close of their course of instruction. This diploma will be accepted by the Courts as evidence of satisfactory knowledge of the Constitution and the history of our government, and will be accepted by the Judge in lieu of the examinations to which applicants are now subjected.

SECURING IMPORTANT LEGISLATION

THE Public Welfare work of the League is in charge of the Committee on Laws and Legislation. This Committee assisted in defeating objectionable features in the Federal Immigration bill. It has been instrumental in changing the New York State Law which prohibited non-citizens from laboring on public work, so they may be enabled to secure positions in grades of work for which citizens are generally unsuited; it has helped to fight the movement to curtail the free public library system; it has obtained from the City Government the adoption of a policy whereby peddlers were permitted, for a two-week period prior to the Passover and Tabernacle Holy Days, wider privileges for vending their wares throughout the city; it has been in the

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forefront in the fight to continue the Free Floating Baths in New York City; it has been aiding in the efforts to extend the Widows' Pension Law to the widows of those who have not yet attained full citizenship; it was amongst the most active of the organizations that helped defeat legislation aimed at weakening the New York State Tenement House Law.

Some time ago at Cooper Union, the League conducted a public "Experience Meeting," at which the heads of the New York City Government told what they had already accomplished and what they plan to do. A leading New York paper commenting editorially, said, "This meeting under the auspices of the League of Foreign Born Citizens, is said to be the first of its kind ever arranged in New York City. It is an interesting attempt to bring an administration face to face with the public it serves."

HELPING THE FOREIGNER TO AMERICANIZATION

IN the great Loyalty Parade of July Fourth the only marching group that was not distinctly racial was that of the League. Theirs was the only organization that paraded as such and the only one that typified the unification of our country. There were twenty-two different nationalities in the unit, men and women who had become citizens since America entered the war.

Further practical efforts toward creating a national and international unity of ideals of political freedom is exemplified in the fact that the original call for the celebration of Bastile Day in New York was planned and issued by ten organizations of which the League was one.

Open-air meetings are held once a week. At important street corners throughout New York large crowds are addressed by members of the League and by others interested in the work. The people are informed concerning the objects of the League, and are encouraged to come to the headquarters and to send their friends who are desirous of becoming citizens. Public questions in which the League is interested are discussed in open forum, and the speaker en-

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deavors to answer questions put to him by his hearers. Members of the campaign committee circulate amongst the crowd, taking down the name and addresses of those who desire additional information concerning the League. Those who signify their interest receive a letter within a day or two thereafter, inviting them to call at the headquarters.

Toward the close of each month the League tenders a reception to those who have become citizens within the current month. The New Citizens each receive cards of invitation for themselves and their friends. They are addressed by the Justices of the Supreme Court who presided in the Court when they were inducted into Citizenship. In addition to these Justices, other men and women, eminent in the life of the community, are speakers. A musical entertainment is also provided. The League publishes, in foreign languages, for distribution amongst prospective citizens, leaflets and manuals to help interpret to them the spirit of American institutions.

The League has come to be recognized as an active factor in civic and communal affairs. Its work is gradually telling and government officials frequently call upon this organization to aid them in public causes. The League is arousing, in thousands of people, hitherto indifferent to public questions, a civic consciousness.

THE IGNORANT AND INDIFFERENT MUST BE ENLIGHTENED

IN this great critical hour of our history there is need for every available ounce of energy, material and spiritual. Every individual must be an intelligent and constructive worker. We cannot afford to have among us the ignorant or the indifferent. Where such should help they hinder. It is not enough to get a man's labor. We must have his whole loyalty. We need his mental, moral and spiritual backing, for these are the impregnable bulwarks of a nation.

It is in the fullest recognition of all this that the League is expanding. Mr. Phillips proposes to carry the activities of the organization into all the large cities and especially into the industrial centers where the foreign born population is

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always numerous, by establishing branch offices adequately maintained to carry on the work of civic enlightenment and Americanization.

While the branch offices in other cities have not yet been established, the League has been instrumental in organizing in other cities various meetings and providing speakers who might help our " citizens in the making " to a clearer conception of just what American citizenship implies not only as it affects his daily life but the general conditions of his well-being.

It was to such an audience that President Wilson voiced the spirit of the newcomers to our shores and interpreted to them our national ideals in the same clear and certain language that characterizes all his noble and statesmanlike utterances, when he said:

> " I have always pleased myself with the idea that America in some degree exists in spirit all over the world and that there are men coming to these shores who have displayed their force in our affairs, who bring to America a more vivid conception of what it means than those who were born and bred here themselves entertain."

In addition to President Phillips, the other officers of the League are: Honorary Vice-Presidents, George Gordon Battle, Charles L. Bernheimer, George E. Blackwell, Louis W. Fehr, George McAneny, Marcus M. Marks, William Fellowes Morgan, George W. Wickersham; Vice-Presidents, Arnold Binger, Royal Dixon, Demosthenes Liakos, George C. Lotz, Jacob Weiss; Secretary, Samuel W. Levine; Administrative Secretary, Charles Henry Lee; Treasurer, Raphael Perlman. Others who have assisted the League as members of its finance committee are Mrs. Vincent Astor, Lewis L. Clarke, Abram I. Elkus, Dr. George F. Kunz, Sam A. Lewisohn, Anne Rhodes and Willard Straight. The Executive Director of the League is Boris Fingerhood.

These are epoch making days. Never did we so feel our need for each other as we do today. Our nation must be a unit and all its members live in the closest fraternity of sympathy and understanding. We can have no barriers of igno-

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rance or prejudice, or religion or nationality. To establish a human brotherhood that can live in peace and harmony is the great aim of our Democracy. Every fact and force that works toward this end is significant. They are many and widespread. And to this aim is consecrated the League of Foreign Born Citizens. The new-found brotherhood has spread knowledge, fostered understanding, stimulated co-operation, projected the vision, and interpreted the ideal.

WHEN YOU COME BACK

By RALPH M. THOMSON

WHEN you come back from far across the sea,
Where you have looked on thousands as they died;
Back from that front your blood has sanctified—
From that vile hell where Mars holds revelry;
When you come home, to be once more with me,
To still my anxious heart, so long denied
The restfulness of peace, and be the guide
Of my worn soul throughout eternity;

It will not matter if your face is scarred,
If your strong frame is maimed in any way;
But born anew to brave the world of men,
My aching arms shall crush you doubly hard;
And, safe from harm, I shall thank God and say:
"Come, let us live; old times are here again."

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MUST HAVE AEROPLANES TO WIN QUICKLY

Germany's Morale Weakened—The End Not Yet—A Standing American Army in Europe After the War!

By FREDERIC VILLIERS

[THE WORLD'S FAMOUS WAR CORRESPONDENT

An Interview with the Forum

Just before returning to the Western front, Mr. Villiers gave to the Forum an interview, the time being too short to prepare a lengthy article, on various phases of the Great War. A veteran war correspondent of every great modern war, Mr. Villiers' conclusion is that the aeroplane is the greatest military arm that has yet been devised in warfare.

"I MAINTAIN now as I have, almost from the beginning, that the war will be won by the side having the largest number of powerful aeroplanes—which of course means the Allies. If one side, or the other, could only have realized this before the beginning of the fight, that side would have won long before now. But neither one could. Germany was still experimenting with the Zeppelin, a cumbrous, impossible monster, utterly defenseless against anti-aircraft guns; France, while alert had yet made comparatively little headway; England and America were practically nowhere at all.

"The fighting airplane has been developed since this war began. Had it reached its present stage before that period, the side possessing the largest number would simply have won the war.

"That is my belief as firmly as it is that the quickest and most economical way to end the war is by aircraft.

"While I *do* expect that next year when we have a great American army in the field we shall be able to push home sufficiently to win this war by infantry, yet it will necessarily be at such a great sacrifice, as compared with what might be done by a great fleet of aeroplanes, that I do not like to contemplate the issue.

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"With such a great fleet we could really get into the heart of Germany, as the Germans have got into the hearts of the French, although not by aircraft,—and bring the war to a conclusion at a much less cost.

"I believe we have got to do this thoroughly before we conclude the peace of Berlin: that is to bring the war so home to the very heart of the whole German nation, not as sufferers, not as endurers, but as a beaten people by force of superior arms. I believe that the two great new arms, the aeroplane and the tank, both of which were made possible by the petrol-driven motor, a factor which has revolutionized modern warfare, will be the two big factors in our final success."

THERE IS STILL A HARD FIGHT AHEAD

"I SINCERELY hope Prussianism will crumble from within, at the will of an awakened people. I believe it is beginning to now, but there is still a hard fight ahead to win, either way. I want to impress on the American people what we thoroughly well know in England, that Germany is not yet beaten by us—not by any means. That this big move of the American army in the field, the breaking up of the St. Mihiel salient and the advance toward Metz—which has met with so much success up to the present; though I feel assured it will ultimately overcome all obstacles, must expect to lose a tremendous number of men before that is achieved.

"Metz is one of the great German strongholds—perhaps their strongest, and they are making it stronger every moment.

"Russia seems to be almost subjugated by Prussia. There is no coherent military spirit left in the country, no ruling force of any kind, that is safe and sane. Yet while she seems to be under the heel of Germany, Germany I think has bitten off more than she can chew. She will never be able to hold Russia in any way after the war is over. Nor will Russia during the war be particularly helpful to her in

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fighting—man power. Germany will draw a lot of supplies from Russia, nor will she care if she starves Russia, to do it. But the books will be balanced when peace is concluded, finally. May this day come soon for Russia's sake.

"I have no faith whatever in Russia as even a moral support to the Allies. While successes by the allied troops may waken the allegiance of the Turks and the Bulgars to that point where Germany can no longer hold them,—which I think is quite possible indeed,—this will not be the case with Russia. Russia has become a negative quantity so far as our side is concerned, absolutely.

GERMANY MUST SEE OUR SOLDIERS IN THE STREETS OF BERLIN

"WHAT great blow will the Americans strike is only known to God and the headquarters staff. I do not for myself think we are aiming at any definite objective point. Our business is to push the enemy hard at all points, smash him wherever we meet him. To do that so thoroughly and so quickly that we shall suddenly change the whole attitude of the German nation and be able to conclude a lasting peace. And that peace must be made in Berlin. There must be contingents of the forces of every ally in Berlin then. Germany must know that she is absolutely beaten—and she will know it when the allied forces are in Berlin. I do not say that a whole army will have to reach there. I doubt if that will be needful. I think the Germans will come to their knees before then, or they have been more pig-headed than they have always had the credit of being.

"But the German nation must see our soldiers in Berlin streets, and know that we have finally reached the very throne of the Kaiser. Any other kind of a peace is absolutely unthinkable. The terms must be dictated in the heart of the German empire. Whether we are obliged to fight to the gates of Berlin or not we must march through Berlin as conquerors.

"America has been a tremendous asset to the Allies both in prowess and numbers, and has already greatly

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strengthened the moral effect of the shadow of defeat, which hangs over Germany, which is not yet willing to admit what the Americans are really doing. The American soldiers have already proven themselves equal to the veterans who have been fighting from the start, which after all is a tremendous thing. And the men who have come back home have greatly stimulated the fighting spirit here. Nothing like the sight of a real soldier to make a recruit.

"As a general contribution to a survey of the whole situation I should say that the German morale at home, as well as in the field, but particularly the latter, must be very much shaken. For let it be recalled that Germany all through this business has been fighting rear-guard actions. Their self-styled victories have been local successes on rear-guards trying to stem the tide so that the main body should get back to a stand. Having reached that stand they have tried again to hit us as hard as possible,—the only thing they could do. Their object now is to secure a more favorable peace by trying to tire us out in turn,—inflicting such losses as they can. But their campaigning is futile. We know that we are going to fight to the end.

THE UNITED STATES MAY HAVE A STANDING ARMY IN EUROPE AFTER THE WAR

"THE end of the war? It is certainly not coming this year. The German people are very aggressive and very stubborn. These are their two leading characteristics. They have not as yet felt the full sense of panic, which must come to them before they 'lay down their arms.'

"This war will change the face of civilization. The United States is preparing to take its place as the great guardian of the peace of the world. The enormous contracts that have been placed in every department of supplies and arms abundantly proves this fact. I am especially glad to see that the aeroplane production is so large. America with her marvelous resources is preparing not only for the conclusion of the present struggle but for ante-bellum issues.

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It is quite possible she may have to maintain a standing army in Europe after peace is concluded,—perhaps for 15 or 20 years. She kept her army five years in the Philippines. There will also be an army at home. Then there is Russia to consider. You are sending troops over there now. The war and its consequences will be costly for some years to come.

"The problems that the men at Washington are meeting so squarely are infinitely greater than any that have ever beset mankind before. The easy years of the modern world are over. We stand in the presence of a sterner order of things."

IN MY SOUL'S HOUSE

By LEONIE DAVIS COLLISTER

IN my soul's house, I stored for you
Each treasure that the gods
Had given me.
And many dreams I stored
Against your coming.
Your hand on mine was fire on fire,
But in my soul's house that I
Had made so beautiful,
You did not enter.

And now . . . the gods
Have seized my treasures,
As is their way
With things unused.

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HUMAN DISCARDS RESTORED

How France and the Red Cross Are Rehabilitating the Repatries

By MARY ROSS

[SPECIAL CORRESPONDENCE IN FRANCE TO THE FORUM

WHEN the invading Huns swept across Belgium and into France they drove before them only a small portion of the civilians, as compared with the number that remained on what they were pleased to call "home soil," yet under enemy rule. While these hundreds of thousands taxed accommodations in France, they were welcomed, as they came when labor was needed and mobilization had bereft the country of much of its man and woman power.

They who remained behind soon wished that they had fled, even though they had come away empty handed, for with the merciless rule of the enemy they were stripped of possessions and set to work like veritable slaves.

Among those remaining in enemy-conquered territory were thousands who were unfit for work or soon became unfit. They included children under fifteen, mothers with two or more children to care for, the very aged, the sick, crippled and young men unfit, through drink. All of these people had to be fed. German officials drove them out because they were non-productive, and food was becoming scarce.

Under the pleasant-sounding word "Repatriation," these people were driven through Evian, into France, and since that time the French have been hard put to it to find shelter, food and other necessities for them.

These unfortunates had tried to cling to their looms and their dairies, their fields and their homes, but the Germans despoiled their looms and factories, killed their cows for food, plowed with the devastating hob-nail boots of the soldiers

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and took what little of food and personal goods they had, then began to weed out those unable to work, and drive them out of the country.

On December 4, 1917, three hundred thousand such repatries passed through Evian into France and they are coming in at the rate of nearly 2,000 a day. Staggering under her own burdens, the care of these was a task almost too great for France to handle alone, but the Red Cross is helping. Repatries are still pouring in, a sad and a sorry lot. They can bring with them only what money eludes the vigilant inspection of German officials at the border—usually very little. They come after a wrench from their homes, work and often families, which is far more demoralizing to them than it would be to a more shifting population, and after three uncertain irresponsible years of physical and nervous strain which have made them penniless, and helpless.

About half of the repatriates find letters at Evian from relatives and friends who are waiting to receive them. The rest become the special wards of the Ministry of the Interior, and are distributed in train loads of about 600 to the various departments of France, according to a schedule determined two months in advance. In the departments they fall under the care of the prefect, the controller of refugees—a special representative of the Ministry of the Interior who works with the prefect and volunteer committees. They have the regular refugee allocation, frs. 1.50 for each adult and fr. 1 a day for each child under sixteen, and frequently the state pays the rent of such lodgings as can be found for them. Urgent needs of clothing and furniture are met by special state or private charity.

Seven million refugees already have poured into free France since the beginning of the war—and the building at a standstill, the lodging question has long been acute; little furniture has been made in France since 1914, and it is scarce and expensive; and industrial placement, except in the overcrowded cities of war industries where living is demoralizing and expensive, is increasingly difficult. Faced with these obstacles the people of the northern departments are likely to

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succumb to their physical and mental lassitude and rest on their allocations, free rent, and free clothing to wait the end of war. In the difficult and varied task of fitting them again into French national life—to become again useful themselves as well as to the state—the Red Cross, at the invitation of the Ministry of the Interior, is playing its part.

ONE FAMILY TO A ROOM

VANNES is a little picture book town in Brittany, with pointed Gothic houses overhanging the cobbled streets that slope down to the Gulf of Morbihan and overlook the islands from which red sailed fishing smacks put out to sea. Its women wear wide white caps, close-fitting velvet bodices and commodious skirts; on Sundays and fete days their embroidered black silk shawls and colored silk brocade aprons are wonderful to see; the old men who drive the ox-carts into market wear blue smocks and wide rolling beaver hats, with low round crowns and two velvet ribbons hanging down behind. From cock-crow until the street lamps are darkened at ten o'clock there is always the clatter of wooden sabots.

On the fourteenth of July, 1917, that anniversary of the Fall of the Bastile, which is France's Fourth of July, Vannes had a great fete. Its first convoy of repatriates arrived; they were met with flags, speeches and music; the commissioner who accompanied the train, the Commissioner of the Government at Evian and the Lyons Committee for the aid of repatriates all wrote their appreciation of the magnificent reception which Vannes had given its arriving guests.

The controller of refugees had rented what vacant houses could be found. Each room of each house had been made ready for a family. On the door was pasted a list of the articles it contained; beds, when they could be obtained (if not ticks filled with straw), a table, a couple of chairs, a little wood stove, a washbowl and pitcher, and a meager supply of china and cutlery. There also was a list of the prevailing prices of food in Vannes; butter, eggs, vegetables, meat, so that no unscrupulous dealer could take advantage of

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their ignorance of the neighborhood. A volunteer committee collected clothing for the refugees in Vannes, those who lived outside applied to the controller of refugees at the Prefecture, who has an unofficial looking wardrobe stacked with small corduroy trousers, with petticoats, apron material, rolls of serge and other materials. If they lived too far they applied to the mayor of the village and when he endorsed their appeal the controller sent a bond or check to him to buy the necessary articles.

After six months the repatriates are still living a family of four or five, occasionally six to a room, cooking, eating, sleeping in the same place. A few have accumulated possessions in addition to what the committee had ready; a Singer sewing machine (known in France as the Sang-ay) partly paid for on the installment plan has a corner in one family dwelling. More are merely waiting for the war to end, resting on their free lodging and clothing, their allocations, and their memories of the glory that was theirs before the war.

These exiles guard fiercely their love of their own country. A Belgian woman came into the Auray station to take a train to the little Belgian settlement a few kilometers away. It was January, but in that mild Breton climate roses were in bloom in some of the gardens, palms were green in formal little plots and a kind of a yellow furze starred the briar covered banks that edge the fields.

The country is mildly rolling. At Auray it slopes down to an arm of the sea where shabby fishing vessels with red sails rest beside a cluster of pointed white houses which overhung their winding terraced streets before Columbus sailed off to discover America.

"No, I do not like this country," she said. "It is not pretty like Belgium. We shall go home the minute war is over."

She shook the dejected feather in her limp hat in the direction of four Breton girls, white-coiffed, rosy-cheeked, and gaily aproned, who were making a Saturday afternoon excursion up to Vannes.

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"See how funny they are," she said; "I do not like them."

She was one of two Belgian women who could speak French in a little group of six families who were shipped from Paris into Brittany three years ago. None of the others know any French now, except the children who learn it in school but speak Flemish at home. They are exiles, waiting.

LITTLE TO DO BUT WAIT

AT Vannes there is little for them to do but wait. There are few industries except the fishing off the gulf, in boats, too heavy to be handled by women, and the "petite culture" of the Breton farms, where knotted mossy little apple trees try to extract a living from the granite soil. The farms are seldom of more than fifteen acres and the owner and his family can what is needed—care for their animals, gather the apples, and make Breton cider. They cannot afford to pay for labor—and there is no room in their low stone farmhouses for more people—often the farmer and his family occupy one end of the single room, the cattle and horses the other. Back from the towns it is not rare to find a Breton farmhouse where no French is spoken—only the Celtic language of Brittany from ancient times.

The repatriates who come to Brittany also are farmers—but farmers who raised sugar beets, who had neat, and miraculously productive garden patches, which provided labor for the whole family. In Vannes the children go to school but the women do little except care for the one-room dwelling. In January, six months after they arrived, a workroom was opened in a centuries old building used once as a mairie where some of them found their first employment, in making straw mats which serve as mattresses for soldiers. So long as the supply of straw can be obtained this will give work at frs. 3-4 a day.

The second convoy to Morbihan, in January, was not brought to Vannes but distributed to Elvan, a town of 3,000 persons about two miles and a half from the railroad, to

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Auray, of 7,000, and Lorient, a thriving commercial city of 50,000.

In Elvan the committee fitted up the empty house of the former mayor, who had died, and of the doctor who had been mobilized and gone to war, and of a merchant who had been about to move into his new house when war called him away and left the white plaster walls of the house unpapered and the rooms empty. When stoves can be obtained for each room each family does its own cooking—but in the doctor's house there were not enough stoves and one white coiffed *bonne* from the home of the chairman of the committee presided over a huge iron pot of ragout in the red-tiled kitchen, while another stirred the soup in a pot hung from a crane over a wood fire on the front lawn.

Elvan has streets which radiate about an old stone church; at the inn is a fireplace said to date from the fifteenth century, when it was built for a friar by a feudal lord whose ruined castle lies some kilometers away, but aside from the stores that sell to the farmers and workroom similar to that at Vannes, where straw mattresses are made for the armies, there is no industry. The repatriates can be kept for several weeks in the vacant houses—and in that time many of them find relatives and friends to whom they can go—but then the houses must be made ready for the next convoy. A villa on the seashore was requisitioned to house some, others will be scattered through the villages. When summer comes and the villages again are occupied there will be work for some in the gardens—and for others in the kitchens.

In one room at Elvan there was a great excitement, and a young woman, with hair marvelously curled, ran out laughing half hysterically and hurried down the street.

"She is going to meet her husband," the old mother explained. "In August he was mobilized and marched away. When the Germans came, we could not write to him or hear from him. We did not know whether he was living or dead, and he was afraid always something had happened to us. And the little girls were babies then," indicating two shiningly scrubbed children.

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When a repatriate family with a husband, son, or father, passes through Evian, the regiment of the soldier is notified at once and he receives a special ten days' leave to visit them.

At Auray, where the good sisters of a convent made room for the repatriates until villas along the seacoast can be requisitioned and equipped for them, a returning soldier found not only his own dark-eyed little boy, a baby in arms when he left, but a little yellow-haired, blue-eyed son. He stood astonished for a moment, then as his wife began to cry, swore and went away. Each convoy brings a number of babies of two and less—and it is tacitly assumed that they are the children of enemy fathers, but they are received with the others and taken in to be brought up as Frenchmen.

MAKING REPATRIES USEFUL

AURAY is nearer the railroad than Elvan, and in peace time had factories where replicas of antique Breton furniture were made. Some woodworkings still is done, and occasionally in the homes of the more prosperous there is work to be had as domestic service. Yet the lodging question is acute and those who arrived six months ago are still living a family to a room in the villas near the seashore. Some kind of work has been found for most of the 500 refugees in and about Auray who were able to accept it.

Lorient is a thriving seaport town—and to it 400 of the 650 in the convoy were assigned. A former hotel had been used for troops—by a lucky chance they were ordered away. In six days the convoy was to arrive and what could be gotten together in the way of furniture and clothing was collected and made ready. Here the repatriates eat at long tables in what was formerly the coffee-room of the hotel; the food is prepared by professional cooks in the kitchens, and served by the members of the ladies' committee who act as volunter waitresses.

Lorient is fortunate in placing its repatriates, for work in the trades—carpentry, masonry, the making of carts, metal work—is abundant and there is a demand for women for

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domestic service; while in Vannes and Elvan and Auray few servants were employed even before the war. A municipal employment bureau provides free placement and allocations are withheld from repatriates who refuse to accept work; for the old people, there is a refuge where allocations buy food and shelter.

France is not oblivious to the misery which results from this repatriation system, and last December saw two long debates in the Chamber of Deputies, when members of the chamber from the invaded districts, some of them repatriates themselves, criticised the haphazardness with which weavers frequently are sent to agricultural districts, farmers in industrial centers.

Much of this is unavoidable. The French authorities cannot know in advance from what cities or villages the convoys are to come. The arrivals are so many that it is impossible to house them for any length of time at Evian, in order to sift them industrially. And the local authorities, already overburdened with the extra administrative work which the war has brought upon them, must know several weeks in advance when they are to expect the trains bringing six hundred or more persons practically destitute.

What the A. R. C. can do to help win back to productive labor and some degree of happiness this continuing procession of the old and the young whom war has tossed aside, must differ as widely as the cities, villages and countrysides to which the stream is diverted. In a few villages little has been made ready for the train which carries the convoy, and the refugees sit about the station for hours, waiting to be loaded haphazardly into carts, and dumped into outlying villages to shift for themselves—but that is the exceptional case. More often they are met with the devotion which the women of Elvan showed, when they left their homes before three o'clock on a cold, black January morning, and made kettles of hot soup ready in the station for the train arriving at four. Frequently the Red Cross delegates—now nearly 40 in number—have as excellent an organization as that at Angers on which to build.

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The first convoy of refugees that reached Angers in the fall of 1914 took the city by surprise, but some one thought of the Opera House, and that was thrown open to give temporary shelter. Barracks in the vicinity were fitted as a reception station for later arrivals—there are now about 15,000 refugees in the department of Maine and Loire, and about 5,000 in Angers itself. This winter a former young ladies' seminary was available and in it were placed the 500 who arrived on January 24th. In advance, lodgings had been found for many of them in the villages about Angers, and opportunities for work noted. Doctors and nurses from neighboring French and American hospitals gave their services for a temporary dispensary to take care of the illness which resulted inevitably from seven days or so of travel following months of privations; and when the families left the "maison des refugies" they went with some capital in health and opportunity for a start.

VICTIMS OF GERMAN CRUELTY

AT Angers the Red Cross delegates have aided in this industrial classification; they have obtained from Paris the bedding which cannot be bought locally, and have placed orders for the manufacture of furniture in a factory nearby. The repatriates will be asked to buy the furniture—paying two-thirds or three-quarters cost price in installments of a dollar or so a month.

At Vannes it was shoes which were needed; 400 pairs are en route from the Paris warehouse. There also furniture was hardly to be bought at any price—but at Auray there was a factory where replicas of the antique Breton black carved beds and wardrobes and tables were made before the war, to be sent to America. There is no reason why the woodworking machinery cannot be started again to make ordinary furniture—for wood is plenty and work is needed, and soon the Red Cross money probably will have furnished the motive power for turning out needed articles to be bought by refugees in a manner similar to that at Angers.

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St. Etienne is one of the French cities where industry has expanded with the war—attracting large numbers of refugees because of high wages, in munitions factories, and creating a kind of life in squalid, undrained tenements, condemned and unoccupied before the war rush, which is peculiarly unsavory. To better housing conditions is next to impossible—because there are no houses which are not already filled to the gutters. A local committee had started milk stations for the tenement babies—for with light and air at a premium St. Etiennes's infant mortality rate has risen seriously. But French doctors are mobilized and there was no one to follow up the needs for medical work. Now there is a Red Cross clinic with a doctor and a visiting nurse, and a club of Frenchwomen who were studying English together came en masse to ask that a course be given to train them as home visitors to assist in the work of the clinic. A similar clinic is at work in Dijon, and at Paris, an existing clinic was taken over and now has special days for Serbian refugees, for children, for dental work, for nose and throat operations, and for general medicine.

Many of the troubles which these people are meeting have causes too deep to be remedied until after the war; but American goods, money and hope have strengthened the work of those whose resources often came near exhaustion after three years and more of constant demand for aid, and can supplement the aid which none but the French can give their own people.

One must not confuse the repatriates with a certain class of refugees who came at the beginning of the war, and whose conduct was sufficient to discourage the most warmly intentioned.

These repatriates from the invaded country have had to endure German tyranny for more than three years. They came profoundly depressed, for, treated as beasts, deprived of all independence and liberty, they had lost all spirit. By gentleness and care they are regaining confidence in themselves, and in time they will be rehabilitated in so far as it is humanly to work the change.

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GOD, IN THIS WAR

"God's is the Quarrel"—*King Richard II.*

By REV. WILLIAM W. DAVIS

[ASSISTANT PASTOR, "LITTLE CHURCH AROUND THE CORNER"]

GOD is in the war just so far as He is in men's hearts. God is Man's Partner, and not a silent Partner. To a man stone deaf all his neighbours are dumb, so God is silent to those who are deaf. He does not limit Himself to the modes of speech to which men are confined. There would never have been in the world a trace of Music, Art or Poetry if men had stupidly insisted that they could not or would not hear anything from Nature and from the heart of man except what is conveyed in the sordid vernacular of daily business. This is the trouble with hosts of people who never hear any message or voice from God. God *must* speak to them only in the vocables of their own self-centred interests. He can, if He likes, speak in this way, and sometimes he does, to the blasting confusion of the hearer. But He is not bound to do so. Since He is the Maker and Master of the Universe He can speak in any of the million ways which that Universe affords. One who cannot hear God except by the limited lexicon of selfishness is like a man in a thunderstorm who can hear nothing but the beating of his own heart.

To one who has no belief in God all this is of no interest, but there are, after all, millions of believers, and they are profoundly interested in this question. This is the point. To a believer, what part has God in this Great War? To such a person it is a matter of more consequence than life or death. If God has no part in so great an affair, then, instantly, his conception of God is destroyed—in effect, he *has* no God; he has been cheated.

Now this is no small matter. It is immense in its

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significance. It is impossible to imagine the magnitude of the spiritual catastrophe if all the millions of believers in all the warring nations should suddenly be paralyzed with the conviction that "God does not care!" All the dreadful forms of suffering, disease, mutilation, torture, and death, effected by the war, brought together and heaped mountain-high, would be as nothing to the cumulative despair of numberless generations who now and hereafter should be condemned to live on without any belief in God. When a man has the leprosy he is not particularly concerned if he also has an occasional attack of influenza. If God is to go from the heavens and the earth, the believer does not much care about the small vicissitudes of life and death. With a void heaven and godless earth what conceivable interest can life have for him?

And so smaller questions concerning God's interest in this war fall into their relative place. If God is "in the quarrel," on whose side is He? What is He doing for that side? How can we know which side He is on? On our side? On the other side? On the strongest side? On the weakest side? On the side of the most skillful? On the side of the most hopeless? The more we ring the changes upon this kind of question the more we see the littleness of our view of God. God is a Partner with men in this war, as in all man's activities, just in the measure that He is in the hearts of men. He is the Partner, but He is not necessarily a Partisan. He is not exclusively on the side which is to gain the heaviest temporal advantage. He is on the side which is to gain the greatest spiritual advantage. He is on the side of high principles and noble ideals, His own principles and ideals, His own Will, His own Law. In a sense He is on each side up to the measure that the human governments on that side are fighting for His Will to be done on earth. In another smaller sense He is on all sides to the extent that He is in the hearts of individuals who have truth, justice, love and kindness—that is His Will in their hearts. So, again, in the abstract, He is on His own side, because He alone can will perfect Justice and Mercy.

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WHAT THE WAR REVEALS

IN a huge *mélange* of nations such as this war includes, with varying bad motives of selfishness, aggrandizement, pride, ambition, cruelty, and with varying good motives of honor, chivalry, kindness, benevolence, self-sacrifice—there must be, of necessity, on one side or the other, a preponderance of good intentions. If one cancels the factor of "human nature" one can prove anything. But human nature will not be cancelled, and war, horrible as it is, will forever have a good and beautiful side. The glories of the battlefield are great, unique, and imperishable. Like other earthly experiences, it has its own virtues—the stern and terrific virtues of the chivalrous warrior. Like other fields of life, it opens up vast revelations of mercy, tenderness, patience. War gives one thing which other tragic struggles produce in their measure: it shows the unconquerable merriment of the human heart in the face of unspeakable horror. It is something to know that the heart of man cannot be crushed by any kind of force and cruelty. The wounded soldier who is carried back of the line and waves his dying cheer to his comrades going to the front, is a type of the invincible strength of soul which keeps the world going. For, after all, this is the only way the generations of men keep the courage to live. The young, the vigorous, the hopeful push their way to the "front" of life and face its burden and agony, because the old, the worn, the dying, as they are coming from the battle can still smile and bless. This is godlike and shows God's Presence in men's hearts. God, therefore, is in the war to this extent, at all events: that He makes men greater than suffering and death.

There never was a war in which the contrasted ideas were more plainly defined than they are in this war. Putting aside, for the moment, the minor forms of national and racial selfishness on both sides, and, also, the minor forces of goodness on both sides, there remains the clear-cut, determined purpose of each side. In most matters, especially in great matters, we have to take things as the sailors say "by and large." We live, intellectually, by generalization. And thinking thus about the war we are forced to see that, speaking

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broadly, on one side is an idea of human domination by force, with all its accompaniment of heartlessness and cruelty; on the other side is the idea of right, with the corollary of chivalry and fairness. It is well-nigh impossible to find in anything written or said by Germany a word of kindly consideration or generous estimate of any people on earth except those who are allied with her. On the other hand, with all the bitter denunciation of Germany and her associates, the peoples of the Allies have kept up a continual protestation of high appreciation of many things in the German race. The Allies have undoubtedly lost hundreds of thousands of men and countless treasures because of this ineradicable magnanimity. And to this day this is the striking note of difference in the actual thought of the two groups of nations—on the one hand unyielding, undiminished hate and diabolical selfishness; and on the other a dazed and battered but unconquerable reluctance to believe that the Germans are really what they show themselves to be, and have been trained to be—hard, merciless, selfish, greedy and jealous.

GOD IS WITH THE ALLIES

AND so we must say, emphatically, that broadly speaking, God is, must be, as a Righteous God, on the side of the Allies.

Wars are not hid away in the corners of the earth. There has never yet been a war, certainly not a great war, during which and after which the world has not known and declared the righteousness of one side and the evil of the other side. God has given over that much of His judicial function to the conscience of the race. "Securus judicat orbit terrarum." What used to be called the "common consciousness" of mankind is right in the long run and the common consciousness of the world has convicted the Teutonic powers of bad ideals, bad purposes, bad methods: in fact, a bad heart in which God cannot be. This judgment which God has in a certain measure delegated to mankind is the foundation of the thing we call Civilization. It is not the "vox populi" but the "vox orbis terrarum"—the voice of man. That voice has spoken once and for all. The

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Teutonic idea is condemned. Even the Germans themselves know it. They do, at last, in their dull and grudging fashion begin to deplore the fact that the whole world is against them.

Right and Justice are with the Allies. God is on the side of Right and Justice. God is on the side of the Allies.

What difference does it make?

Well, it makes an eternal difference. God is helping the Allies to win. How? First, by what has just been said—by having planted in the mind and heart of the world a determined detestation of the German idea. "Deutschland" is at last really "ueber alles," as the most monstrous creation of merciless force the world has seen—the most perfect piece of heartless machinery, made out of human material, for the crushing of all that is tender, lofty, kindly, beautiful, free and spiritual in civilization. This is what keeps the Allies fighting. They simply cannot stop. Loathsome, ghastly, horrible as the job is, the inexorable conviction of the world drives them on to smash the venomous, remorseless beast which is let loose upon the world's peace. This is what God has done and is doing for the Allies. He has made them win already the moral victory.

When, how far, and in what way He will help us to win in a military sense, remains unknown. Already, however, things have been done in three years by the comparatively unmilitary nations against the perfect military organization and efficiency of the German machine which are truly supernatural. What Germany with an evil purpose has taken forty years to do, the unprepared, unwarlike Allies have done in three years. Even a "white peace" could not take that fact from the German consciousness. If the fumbling, uncertain, half-hearted spirit of democracy can do that, what may be expected when Germany retires at last behind the Rhine, groaning, cursing, hating and hated?

Like the dragon "Fafner" of her own legend, her lair will be ceaselessly watched, and upon her first threat of military movement, the young, bright, clear-eyed Siegfried of democratic freedom, armed now with the "holy sword," the sharp-shearing sword of knowledge and experience, will slay that dragon of tyranny, bitterness and hate.

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KNIGHTS OF COLUMBUS OVER THERE

By JAMES A. FLAHERTY

[SUPREME KNIGHT, KNIGHTS OF COLUMBUS]

This great Roman Catholic organization is pledged to spend $50,000,000 for the benefit of the American fighting forces in war camps in this country and in France, England and Italy.

ON the 30th of May this year, our American Memorial Day was solemnly observed in Paris for the first time in history by a service in the great Madelaine Church, Cardinal Amette, the Archbishop of Paris and the primate of France, presiding. American officers, soldiers and sailors filled the body of the Church and assembled with them were the diplomatic corps of the Allied nations, members of the French cabinet, Senate and Chamber of Deputies, together with representatives of the municipality of Paris and of other French cities.

It was a testimony to the wonderful spirit of human brotherhood that this war has called forth, this gathering of men of all climes, bloods and religions to do honor with their American brethren in the great battle for liberty to our forebears who fought and died to bring forth, sustain and maintain the ideal of human liberty. And no less was it a tribute from the Roman Catholic Church of France to their brethren from across the sea who had come to the succor of the land whose national heroine is Jeanne d'Arc. The Maid of Orleans had led Frenchmen against the British troops of their day: the American republic was established with the aid of the French troops and ships that had crossed the seas to fight a common British enemy: and on this day, Americans, British and French, former enemies, but now comrades in arms, united at last in the greatest cause in history, knelt side by side in memory of men who on another soil, in another continent, thousands of miles away, had lain down their lives for liberty.

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Nothing in this war so stirs the mind and heart as the spectacle of men laying aside those differences that have in former years seemed of such paramount importance, national prejudices, racial prejudices, religious prejudices, in the common cause of human rights and human brotherhoods. Blood mingles with blood on the battlefield in a stupendous human sacrifice to an ideal, and soul with soul in reverence to the common deity. The enemy has set himself apart from the common stream of humanity no more terribly than in his blasphemous phrase of "unser Gott!" That service in the Madelaine where men who had crossed the Seven Seas, where men whose native tongues barred free communion in word, where French, British, American, Italian, Sab, Christian, Jew and Mohammedan, knelt in tribute to men who had died before them for man's freedom, symbolized in one instance humanity's response to that blasphemy.

This service was, in a manner, the dedication of the over-seas war work of the great Roman Catholic American organization, the Knights of Columbus, who have undertaken to cooperate with the Red Cross, the Y. M. C. A., the Salvation Army, and the Jewish Welfare Board, in the moral and morale care of our men in training in the United States and in the battle line in France and Italy. The membership of the Knights of Columbus is composed of Americans who are descendants of fathers of all races, Irish, French, British and Italian, and the organization was early in the field in the United States, authorized by the War Department, to provide not only for the special religious requirements of Roman Catholic soldiers, but to be of service to all the men in uniform; it received authorization for over-seas work on Dec. 1, 1917. From the beginning its work was planned on broad lines and in full cooperation with the other agencies in the field.

"HOMES" FOR THE BOYS OVER THERE

IN the first place, in every hut is a sign conspicuously posted which says, "Treat this place as you would your own home." And the sign means what it says and the men know

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it. The buildings are simply furnished with benches and writing tables which can be easily moved to one side to give space for basket ball, boxing contests or other indoor sports. There is an elevated platform at one end equipped for lectures, moving picture entertainments or soldiers' "shows." There is a collapsible field altar on this platform, set up in place for two hours every Sunday for Mass: the rest of the time that altar is folded up and the hut is simply a hut. There is a tiny side chapel for men who wish to pray, to consult with the Chaplain, to confess, but it is essentially a private room, aside from and apart from the hut. There is another private room for the Chaplain—the Knights of Columbus provide for a resident Roman Catholic priest in all of the large cantonments and naval training stations and with the troops in the field—and private rooms where the men can receive relatives and friends who visit them. On Friday nights, when there is a demand, the huts are set aside for Jewish soldiers for their religious observances. There is a billiard table, a library of the books the men want ranging from fiction to technical works, lockers and a safe, games of all sorts, and plenty of stationery. At one Station, for instance, about 2,200 envelopes and 3,700 sheets of paper are distributed every day. There is no canteen and nothing for sale on the premises. Generous citizens send gifts of cigarettes, chocolates, candy, gum and, in season, ice-cream cones and cake, but all of these are donations and distributed free. It has seemed best not to enter the canteen field since other cooperating agencies adequately meet this need. If the necessity arises in France or Italy, where the Knights' huts are the only welfare stations at special points, this rule may be amended, but at present nothing is sold. The secretaries are glad to be able to distribute gifts. Finally, and not the least important, the secretary is enabled to cash men's checks.

A word about the chaplains. In addition to the secretaries, who are all laymen, the Knights of Columbus provide for priests and the French government has recently assigned fifty English-speaking soldier-priests—the fighting curés of the French army—for the work in France and will furnish

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one hundred more in the near future. Knights of Columbus Chaplains, as well as Y. M. C. A. secretaries, have already won distinction in battle and have been honorably mentioned in dispatches. Father De Valles, with a New England detachment, has been officially and unofficially reported as being in the thick of recent fighting and as being as ready and generous with cigarettes and chocolate as devoted to men requiring the ministrations of religion under fire. Rev. Osias Boucher and Father Farrell have also been mentioned in dispatches.

In this country there are 150 huts at camps and training stations with 350 secretaries and 100 chaplains. In France forty-five huts have been constructed, with 175 secretaries and 40 chaplains attached to them. Three K. of C. buildings are located at the headquarters of the A. E. F. K. of C. headquarters in France is maintained at 16 Rue de Madelaine in Paris. All K. of C. buildings abroad, like those at home, are at the service of the soldiers and sailors of America and the Allies at all hours.

To this work, the Knights of Columbus are pledged to devote at least $50,000,000, of which more than $7,000,000 has already been spent in America and abroad. The money comes from all sources, and Jew and Gentile, individually and by organization, have contributed generously, not only in the various drives, but on other occasions.

THE DESIRE TO WRITE HOME PROVIDED FOR

IT is the purpose to make the huts actual home centers. They are free to all men and all men use them. Many men come into the training camps absolute strangers, knowing no one and feeling very much alone in the world and sometimes homesick. The hut is a meeting place and a very large proportion are seized with a letter writing mania. Men will write letters every minute of their spare time, letters to parents, sweethearts, and even acquaintances. Many men, out of their thirty dollars a month, spend as much as six or seven on postage, and ten dollars' worth of stamps a month is not unusual in the early days. Free sta-

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tionery, provided by the organizations, is a boon. The "K. C." hut on any afternoon looks like a correspondence school of journalism. A young soldier or sailor will fill sheets of writing paper and then, having exhausted his vocabulary, may stretch himself out on the foot and a half wide bench and sleep comfortably, despite a rheumatic phonograph, a robustious piano, many voices lifted mightily in more or less close harmony, and the "gallery" at the pool table. Everything "goes" in the K. C. hut that is countenanced by public opinion—and public opinion is rather rigid in our citizen Army and Navy. Lack of self respect is vigorously reproved.

Basket ball and boxing matches are much in demand, and of course the great American game in season. A good bout will draw a crowd that will make the walls of the building bulge, and the boxing fraternity, amateur and professional, have helped out the K. C. work enthusiastically. The men demand for their reading rather serious books, especially those dealing with subjects connected with the demands of the service to which they are attached. Boys who scorned mathematics as an abstract science find it irresistible when applied to trajectories of shells. Text books on armaments, the theory of rifle and gun construction, engine construction, the theory of navigation, personal hygiene, and so on, are in constant demand. If a man wants a book, and the K. C. library does not contain it, the secretaries are instructed to obtain that book for that man at once.

The theory of the K. C. work is service for the men in the service, and that theory is adhered to in practise.

William J. Mulligan, of Connecticut, is chairman of the Knights of Columbus Committee on War Activities. Lawrence O. Murray, former Controller of the Currency and Assistant Secretary of Commerce and Labor, has been appointed Deputy Overseas Commissioner, resigning his position in the executive section of the United States Signal Service to undertake this work. The Knights expect to put 500 men in the field as secretaries overseas as soon as they are equipped and trained.

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WHO'S SHE IN WAR WORK?

By ANNE EMERSON

Helping the fighting man a thousand ways
With prayers, assistance, work and comfort kind;
Lords of this Devil's work must say at last,
"They are too strong, the women are behind."

The Ears of the Army

SHE—indeed stands back of her men. Her labors may be in some safe guarded American city, or on the firing line a few miles from the front, where the barrage fire is heavy. There are no union hours to her work.

In a dugout twenty feet below ground an officer attached to the Signal Corps is phoning a message to Paris, through headquarters. And the telephone central at Headquarters is an American girl, one of the Woman's Telephone Unit. She is versed in the French language and her work is so important that out of twenty-four hundred women who applied for this service less than twenty-five were accepted. Their hours are long—her work needs constant alertness. She is the confidential ear of the army—and hears the most trusted secrets. Her trim blue uniform is becoming more and more common throughout France, and every branch of the military has praised her work.

In the Canteens

Nor do the proverbial Banker's hours exist for the other workers serving the boys in khaki. Mrs. Belmont Tiffany and her co-workers at a Red Cross canteen in France estimate their day is never shorter than twelve hours, and more frequently runs to fifteen.

"War is such an ugly, sordid thing," Mrs. Tiffany says of her work, "that one forgets to be tired when there are boys who need to be cheered and treated to the little luxuries they need. The first night our canteen opened exactly six hundred and eighty men visited the place. They ate everything in the larder and carried off every magazine and paper

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we could find to give them. People who have given money for canteen work in France would feel happy if they could see what their dollars are doing."

Miss Cora L. Van Norden, daughter of the late banker, Warner Van Norden, has also been serving in a canteen, with the Salvation Army. Miss Van Norden particularly praises the honesty of the American soldiers. Several times numbers of men have come to her canteen and not had the money to pay for what they ordered. They never consider taking the rations as a gift, however, but insist on being given a bill which they pay immediately their money arrives.

Teaching the Boy to Cook

Mrs. Mary A. Wilson of Philadelphia has founded in that city the first Naval Cooking School in the country, sacrificing a ten thousand dollar a year business to serve her country without pay.

Mrs. Wilson was born in New Orleans, and at eighteen went to Europe to study cooking. For five years she was the personal chef of Queen Victoria of England, residing at Buckingham Palace and accompanying the Queen on all her journeys. Later, she returned to Philadelphia to head a private Normal School. At the outbreak of the war she offered her services to the Government and was at once accepted. Her classes average about 100 men and need seven or eight weeks to be drilled in the theories and practice of preparing food. Mrs. Wilson says that Rear Admiral Albert Ross' tribute, that the best bread he ever ate was cooked by her students, is all the recompense she needs for her services.

A Labor Problem Solved

One of the difficult problems of the huge growth that has taken place in all munition cities is how to properly house the workers and their families. Bridgeport, Conn., which is essentially a war boom city, solved the problem of labor with the aid of the Bridgeport Housing Company, a group of individuals, some manufacturers, some public spirited men who believed in Bridgeport, all of them anxious to provide community housing for workers. The architect called upon

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to plan these houses was a woman, Miss Marcia Mead. Miss Mead made a careful personal study of the needs of the war workers, and then drew her plans, her main idea being to provide such comfortable homes that the women of the family would want to stay indefinitely, and to assure steady workers for the manufacturers of the city.

Women in the Shipyards

Mrs. Marguerite B. Harrison, widow of Thomas B. Harrison of Baltimore' and daughter of the founder of the Atlantic Transport Company, is helping to make the bridge of ships needed to win the war.

Working in the shipyards for a stated number of hours a day is not as hard as standing over a washtub, an ironing board, a cook stove, or caring for a number of small children, is her opinion, based on her actual experience in overalls at the Bethlehem Shipbuilding Corporation at Sparrows Point, Maryland.

Mrs. Harrison has worked in practically every department of the shipbuilding plant, and the National Service Section of the United States Shipping Board Emergency Fleet Corporation proposes to publish in booklet form her experiences, which will be used in obtaining other workers for the shipyard.

"Doing Her Bit"

Mrs. Justine J. Hall, who designs dresses for the smart women of Indianapolis, Indiana, advanced the belief in a recent interview that the women of the West were beginning to show great patriotism by foregoing extravagant dressing.

"I believe it is going to be unpopular to be stylish until after the war, and I am glad of it, even though my business must suffer. The old-fashioned Mother Hubbard, cut along very severe lines, will be adopted and I would not be surprised to see women wear plain sailor hats and in the summer, sunbonnets."

When Morris C. Gordon resigned as the State Supervisor of Buildings and Loan to enlist in the Marine Corps, Gov. E. D. Gardener of Missouri, under whom Mr. Gordon

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has worked, decided that Mrs. Gordon was the person best fitted to fill her husband's place. Mrs. Gordon made a careful study of the work she was to do and has been very successful in the handling of her department.

One of the most successful recruiting aides with the United States Marines Corps is Captain Russell—or as she is better known internationally, Miss Lillian Russell. The famous Russell beauty enhanced by a uniform is sure to attract a crowd, and once Captain Russell starts talking about duty her male listeners press forward to enlist.

Mrs. Russell Sage, who has long been famous for her charities, has made an important war time donation in giving to the New York University a site for an engineering building. This new engineering building is to be rushed, for, as Secretary Baker points out, not only today does the United States Army need engineers, but once the great task of reconstruction is started there will be still more need for their services.

Captain Helen Bastedo, who is commander of the Women's Motor Corps of America, recently received word from Washington that her organization has been given official recognition by the Medical Department of the Army, and that it will be under the jurisdiction of the Surgeon General. The workers that Captain Bastedo commands are volunteer uniformed women in all parts of the country. They are expert drivers and skilled mechanics. In addition to their ambulance service in the transportation of sick and wounded from vessels and trains to hospitals, these women search all women passengers on incoming vessels from foreign ports.

"When I make a young man realize that it is duty to join the United States Navy, I feel that I have done the boy a service," said Mrs. George A. Wheelock, who is a chief yeoman in the Navy, assigned to the recruiting division. She has persuaded over 16,000 young men to go with the colors. After she had spoken for twenty minutes before a body of students, and professors, at the Duquesne University thirty-four of the students and four professors enlisted. She believes the reason for her success is because she has made a

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careful study of the Blue Jacket's Manual—and knows what she is talking about.

When Mrs. Alice French went to the training camp nearest her home she was surprised to find that most of the men had been well provided by their mothers and sisters with the small luxuries that make a soldier's life less burdensome to boys, who but yesterday were used to every comfort. The thought came to her at once that she would find a motherless boy and provide him with knitted and eatable luxuries. She found not one boy, but many, and when the number became too large for her to care for, she asked her friends to help. In this way the Indiana "war mother" movement started, with Mrs. French at its head. The idea has grown until it has become national, and every motherless boy in the Army has some woman who befriends him.

"It is just as necessary to keep up the morale among the women over here as it is among the soldiers over there" is the reason Mrs. Joseph R. Lamar, wife of the Solicitor General, gives for her work. "We do not want the women to expend their energies on useless war work, minor affairs that are not of vital interest, when there is so much that they can do that will be of real benefit." Mrs. Lamar believes that the women are best reached through groups, and that the true value of their war work is reached by concentrating their efforts to such successful campaigns as food and fuel saving.

The Librarians

One pictures a library as a massive, handsome place of soft rugs, easy chairs, and lights that are just right for the eyes, but Miss Mary Lonyo, the hospital librarian at Camp Wheeler, Georgia, has no such headquarters. In a recent report she told that she was delighted to have been able to arrange for the use of a ward in a row of old convalescent shacks, and that her books were being installed. A small collection of books is placed in each hospital ward, and in addition to these, a patient may, on request, have any book in the camp library brought to him.

The library war service has become one of the most

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important features of the welfare work connected with every camp. There are camp libraries, and hospital libraries, the majority of the librarians being women. They wear a uniform of natural color pongee, a white roll collar with a brown tie, brown shoes and stockings, and a white hat. A brassard is worn on the left arm, and an American Library Association pin on the wide brown ribbon on the hat.

Native American Women Do Their Bit

The Indian Woman—the original American woman, is busy at her war work buying and selling bonds, working with her hands—cheering the braves as today they go out to war minus feathers and paint.

"The Indian never forgets that he is the real American," said Mrs. Gertrude Bonnin, an Indian woman, who is the secretary of the Society of American Indians, and is known to her own people, the Sioux, as "The Great Red Bird." "They have not hesitated to sell their most precious bead ornaments in order to give to war funds—especially the Red Cross, which particularly interests them. The Indian women have always been skilled for their handiwork, and are rapid knitters."

The Indian women have also become interested in war gardens, possibly because all of the tilling of the land was their duty by hereditary custom. Canning, however, did not exist in the days of the buffalo herds and the quickly slung tepees which marked the Indian home. This new innovation in Indian life has become an obsession, and they are canning well. Mrs. Harriet Bone Necklace, of the Pine Ridge Indian Agency, in South Dakota, recently won a money prize and a National Certificate of Merit for a can of vegetables grown in her own garden. Mrs. Bone Necklace is the daughter of "Deerfoot," the swiftest Indian runner that ever lived. She was so pleased at her prize that she used the money to drive twenty-five miles across the prairie and have her photograph taken with the can of beans that had won her government recognition.

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NEW BOOKS

By CHARLES FRANCIS REED

STORIES of Western life are always frankly familiar in their appeal,—telling of men who live on action and thrive in the out-of-doors. One of them, "Bruce of the Circle A,"[4] by Harold A. Titus, starts as though it might be very conventional, with a "tall, handsome hero," and a beautiful Eastern girl for the other half of the love story. However, this Eastern girl was not in Arizona to teach school; she had come in search of her drunken husband. The plot is cleverly worked out, the love story is refreshing and clean. Of course, there is a fight, a runaway, and a very intelligent horse. However, Mr. Titus has given a freshness to even the familiar point of his narrative, and the story is a romance that holds the reader's attention and respect. The other story, "The Fighting Fool,"[5] is by Dane Coolidge, who has gained an enviable reputation for his stories of the Western borders of our country. His characterizations are more perfect than those obtained by most writers, probably he knows better than the majority of modern writers the life of the picturesque characters who abound along our frontiers. There is a love story and plenty of atmosphere.

"Oh, Money! Money!"[6] by Eleanor H. Porter, is somewhat disappointing. It is a nice clean story, filled with clever sayings, but not as convincing as was "Pollyanna" or "David." It tells of a rich man who decides to give a large sum of money to each of his relatives, who do not know him, and see which one is best suited to have the larger inheritance. He sends the checks to these cousins, and then under an assumed name goes to live among them. Maggie Duff, the step-sister of the cousins he tests, is the heroine of the

[4] "Bruce of the Circle A," by Harold A. Titus. Small, Maynard & Co. $1.35 net.

[5] "The Fighting Fool," by Dane Coolidge. E. P. Dutton Company. $1.50 net.

[6] "Oh, Money! Money!" by Eleanor H. Porter. The Houghton Mifflin Co. $1.50 net.

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story, and is a likable character. On the whole, "Oh, Money! Money!" is too sweet. It is sure to be highly popular among Mrs. Porter's admirers, but this gifted writer is capable of something more virile.

First novels are always interesting, especially when they come from the pen of a writer who has made himself popular as the author of a magazine. They are not always a great success, however, and in this case Bruce Barton, best known for his writing and editing of "Everyweek," has not yet reached the high fictional note which should be possible from his pen. His novel, "The Making of George Groton,"[7] is a story of Wall Street, a conventional story of a boy who comes to New York, has the most astounding good luck, and then when he has reached the pinnacle of his desire, decides that money making is not the best game in the world. The book is well written, though several of the characters are not entirely convincing. Mr. Barton will probably continue to write novels, and his second will be worth watching for.

Of two English books, one, "Before the Wind,"[8] is a war story, while "A Girl Alone,"[9] by Howel Evans, is a story of a girl who finds herself alone in London, and faces the struggle for existence in a great heartless city. Of the two, "Before the Winds" has the most merit. It is a story remotely connected with the war, for there are no scenes at the front, no tales of carnage. The scene is Scotland, and there is a romance, a detective story, and plenty of excitement that has a humorous touch. The mystery that holds the reader's attention is solved during a Zeppelin raid,—and the romance ended. "A Girl Alone" is rather a sordid narrative, yet the author has been successful in his effort to show that humanity, even in the most miserable circumstances, is ever present. The girl, like a thousand of her fictional sisters, finds herself suddenly penniless and has to wade through misery to reach the last chapter. This is the type of book popular with the penny thrillers of England.

[7] "The Making of George Groton," by Bruce Barton. Doubleday, Page & Co. $1.40 net.

[8] "Before the Wind," by Janet Loring. E. P. Dutton & Co. $1.50 net.

[9] "A Girl Alone," by Howell Evans. G. P. Putnam's Sons. $1.50 net.

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"Salt," or "The Education of Griffith Adams"* is a second book by Charles G. Norris. It is a searching analysis of the education of one young man, taking the hero from boyhood through various private schools and a middle western university—continuing his education when, after graduation, Griffith Adams goes to work in a New York office, marries—and gradually over a course of years shapes his professional life.

The new novel is a decidedly interesting piece of work, showing great depiction of character. A number of men may resent the author's comments on college fraternities—and college morals—but as a story of one young man—not typical of college men as a whole, this narrative shows a series of forceful pictures.

Charles G. Norris, if he is able to continue his literary work, should reach the enviable place held by his older brother, the late Frank Norris, whose novels were so strikingly realistic. Mr. Norris is at present serving as a Captain in the U. S. Army, and is incidentally the husband of Kathleen Norris, of popular novel fame.

Algernon Blackwood's books are worth reading for their author's charming use of words—his ability to make a single word or phrase bring so much into life and color before the mental eye of the reader. Not that he depends for his appeal on fine writing alone, for his novels have definite plots—but the sense and value of the parts of the English language are never lacking.

His latest work to be published is called "The Promise of Air"*. It is the story of a commonplace man who has dreams—who finds time to lift himself above the ordinary, and see the beauty about him. Gradually his whole family finds a healing love come over them—a mystic, indefinable state of mind that gives them "the promise of air"—a glimpse into how men will live and love in the future. It is not a heavy book—not an essay with some fictional touches, but rather a romance, a love story, that breathes of the mystic.

* "Salt, or the Education of Griffith Adams," by Charles G. Norris. E. P. Dutton & Co. $1.50 net.

* "The Promise of Air," by Algernon Blackwood. E. P. Dutton & Co. $1.50 net.

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OF MISCELLANEOUS INTEREST

THREE new volumes of the Modern Library have been recently issued, and their titles are quite in keeping with the excellent selection previously offered in this most interesting collection. Perhaps the most striking is a sheaf of Aubrey Beardsley's drawings* with a preface, and critical sketch, by Arthur Symons. The other two are "Henry Ryecroft"* by George Gissing, and "Bertha Garlan"* by Arthur Schnitzler. If the Modern Library can continue to occasionally offer such material in the neat leather bindings—then it must soon become one of the most popular collections printed in the United States.

Katherine Lee Bates has contributed poems to the FORUM, and some of them will be found in the collection just published under the title "The Retinue."* The majority of the verses included in the new volume are war poems, and are arranged by the author as a record of her thought, starting in 1914 and continuing to the present time. There are also miscellaneous verses. Miss Bates is one of America's clever singers, and this new volume will do much towards her already established reputation.

The verses included in "Hours of France,"* by Paul Scott Mowrer, who is the special war correspondent of the Chicago Daily News, are written with a simple direct note so much cultivated by newspapermen—and so frequently (as in this case) the most successful method of striking the personal intimate note. The poems are of two classes, those which picture France as the author knew it before 1914 and as he has seen it since that fateful August. One bit of prophetic verse, that is not lacking in humor is, "The Folly of Age."

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* "The Hours of France," by Paul Scott Mowrer. E. P. Dutton & Co. $1.00 net.

* "The Art of Aubrey Beardsley," by Arthur Symons. Boni & Liverwright. $0.60 net.

* "The Private Papers of Henry Ryecroft," by George Gissing. Boni & Liverwright. $0.60 net.

* "Bertha Garlan," by Arthur Schnitzler. Boni & Liverwright. $0.60 net.

* "The Retinue," by Katherine Lee Bates. E. P. Dutton & Co. $1.50 net.

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Old men with wooden leg or empty sleeve
Will sit at last, and scold and sigh and fret,
Talking of trench and shell at Auberive,
Or mud and rain in Flanders, with regret.

And basking through the peaceful afternoons,
"The times have sadly dwindled," they will say.
"The lads who fought at Dixmude and the dunes
Were not, thank God, like these young men to-day."

The Honorable Socrates Potter, who told the world at large about "Keeping Up with Lizzie," through the medium of Irving Bacheller's pen, is airing his views again, this time on the much more serious subject of "Keeping Up with William,"* and "William" is the German Kaiser.

The book is a humor coated essay on the prapaganda that Germany has at work in the United States, and much of its humor, while laughable, is pointed—so sharply pointed that each reader will be convinced that it is his, or her, duty to aid in the stamping out of the German line of thought that has so degraded the people of the Fatherland. The book is illustrated with cartoons, and the proceeds of its sale will be given to the children of France and Belgium made fatherless by "Williamism."

Mr. Bacheller's new book will probably be much quoted by anti-German talkers, and it deserves the praise it will undoubtedly bring.

"Russia's Agony,"[19] by Robert Wilton, who was correspondent of the London Times at Petrograd, is a carefully detailed account of the revolutionary conditions that he saw while reporting the ever changing political and social status of that country. The book is interesting and enlightening.

* "Keeping Up with William," by Irving Bacheller. Bobbs-Merrill Co. $1.00 net.

[19] "Russia's Agony," by Robert Wilton. Longmans Green & Co. $4.80.

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IN NANCY

By ELEANOR PRESTON WATKINS

THERE'S a little cleared space in a ruined street
In Nancy, in Nancy,
Where the dust shows the print of small flying feet
In Nancy.
They spin their tops with a fearless hand,
They stand foursquare as their fathers stand;—
For the bravest city in that brave land
Is Nancy.

For a man shall work and a child shall play,
However the cannon thunder;
And a woman shall smile at the end of the day;—
This is the wide world's wonder!

The streets are cleared lest the lines be lost
In Nancy, in Nancy,
And they cherish the art of each wrought-iron post
In Nancy.
They will not hasten, they may not shirk,
For any terror of Hun or Turk.
In the sight of God they do their work
In Nancy.

For a man shall work and a child shall play,
However the cannon thunder;
And a woman shall smile at the end of the day;—
This is the wide world's wonder!

They gather their wounded, they bury their dead,
In Nancy, in Nancy,
But ever they walk with a victor's tread
In Nancy.
No cannon shall blast them from their own sod,
Nor turn them from ways that their fathers' trod.
They know they are held in the hand of God
In Nancy.

For a man shall work and a child shall play,
However the cannon thunder;
And a woman shall smile at the end of the day;—
This is the wide world's wonder!

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THE THEATRE IN REVIEW

By C. COURTENAY SAVAGE

The War Patriotism of the Stage

THE theatre, last winter trembling upon the verge of uncertainty, is this season coming into full bloom. It is "essential," and the edict of the war time government finds approval in the hearts of the public. Unless there is an empty coal bin this winter we may feel sure of an evening's entertainment at the playhouse. Too, the theatre, is the rostrum—the forum—of war patriotism. Between the acts as well as during the raised curtain, the war and its needs and its atmosphere will be with us. The theatre is doing its bit, it will continue in the great war drama, to contribute its share, its patriotism and thanks be, its divertissements.

War plays come under critical observation. It is a difficult task to stage current history, the author is hampered by fact, and the accurate knowledge of his audience. In "Watch Your Neighbors," a "spy" play with a Swiss setting, there is some "strong-arm" work, some clever situations and surprise, to reveal the mechanisms of Hun trickery shorn of all its kultur. The ever favorite "silly ass" Englishman who has taut muscles and an alert mind beneath his simpering mask, as a British intelligence officer, extricates himself from thrilling situations by dexterity of action that endears to the audience the ever fascinating spy in action. Well played, well staged, sound in principle, "Watch Your Neighbor" is an entertaining evening in war efforts. Leon Gordon, a co-author of the play, makes the "silly ass" role fresh and inspiring, while Le Roy Clemens, his collaborator, gives us a glimpse of an English Tommy at his best. We are treated to a conspiracy scene, laid in Switzerland. Nothing better in war atmosphere has been staged this season.

In Stuart Walker's latest production, "Jonathan Makes a Wish," the dreams and aspirations of a fourteen-year-old

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boy are vividly visualized, with a thoughtful "lesson" to the adult. Fathers and mothers who have been deaf to the manifestations of heredity will find in Jonathan's distressful experiences a study of adolescence worth taking home to themselves. The fantasy of delirium in the second act, more real than actual, becomes a glimpse into the sub-conscious, heightening the tragedy of youthful injustice, and bringing out strongly the danger of misunderstanding and ignoring youth's "silliness." The very exaggeration of the human environment sets in contrast a boy's imagination. The half-forgotten youth of ourselves is the dreamland of our age. Mr. Walker is an artist of our childhood, whose indelible experiences shape, perhaps unconsciously, our whole life's tenure. This play is a little masterpiece in chrome.

There isn't any particular reason why "Lightnin'" should run four hundred nights, but it probably will. Its appeal to laughter and tears is irresistible. Neither farce nor comedy, it falls into the category of melodrama, and hits the heart thrills in quick contrast. It is a play of the old Bowery type brought uptown, and kindliness and justice triumphs over "cussedness" to the amusement and satisfaction of a story loving public. As Lightnin' Mr. Frank Bacon does so excellent a bit of pathos that his weakness for the bottle becomes almost virtue. It takes a little weakness in humans to bring out the bigness of some small and self-seeking people, and at least, on the stage, it happies us up to see the "victim" become the hero—when his heart is all right.

Some Plays That Amuse and Thrill

ROMANCE, come up from the cabaret to the palace, is the theme of "One of Us," incidentally illustrating the old saw that a woman, like a dog, needs the strong arm to inspire love. The underworld, now an up-town Chicago sidelight, is resurrected for a setting. It does not matter that dryness has swept Chicago midnight gayety, "One of Us" has a deeper motive. It reveals that flowers flourish in the muck, and youth sees its affinity with sure conviction and stoops to conquer, and conquering glorifies true love. A pretty

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romance, filled with laughs softly and appealingly wrapped around the Girl and the Boy.

Make 'em laugh, make 'em weep, make 'em wait, was Thackeray's recipe for a good story. "Another Man's Shoes," with Lionel Atwill, fills Thackeray's prescription. It is annoying to have anyone tell the plot of a play in advance; it is like having another fellow eat one's dinner to prove it good. Mr. Atwill's characterization of the man who thinks he is another fellow, is convincing and amusing. Miss Mackay's *Dora* is so particularly exquisite that one wishes such adorable creatures as she portrays existed in real life. The play is gripping and diverting from curtain to curtain.

"The Unknown Purple" is not a war play, though it must have been hard for the authors to resist the temptation and leave out a German spy when one would have fitted so admirably into the novel theme that makes the drama. The play is written with a familiar "switchback" prologue borrowed from the movies, and has a last act occurring simultaneously with the previous scene. It is a drama of revenge, of the awakening of a simple-hearted inventor to the fact that he has been tricked and robbed by his faithless wife. He even suffers imprisonment through her actions. When he is free he plays his game with the aid of the purple ray, an invention which makes him invisible. It is all impossible melodrama, but fascinating and thrilling. Furniture moves in such a manner as to make sophisticated audiences jump, and under the cloak of the purple light, hearts, as well as more material objects, are stolen. Richard Bennett plays the leading role with a support up to the high standard of his performance.

A War Drama and Others

ANOTHER novelty of the season, "Under Orders," is a drama whose action is portrayed by only two characters. It is a war play, showing the reaction of the world conflict on two homes, and families of close kinship and physical resemblance. Twin sisters have married, one, a

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German, the other, an American living in England. The sons of the two women are physically alike, and both serving their respective countries. With this similarity as a background a drama has been built that contrasts the Teutonic war mind with that of an Anglo-Saxon. The result is a play carrying suspense and emotion. Shelley Hull and Effie Shannon play the dual roles with the authority that has made them notable in other work on the stage.

Alice Brady's return from the motion picture world shows her to be an actress of more than ordinary ability. The play, "Forever After," is written as a "cut back," that new method of dramatic handling which enables playwrights to show the actor's thought. It is a war play with an act of real comedy, contrasted with the tragedy of the battlefield and base hospital. Sentiments abound, and tears are prevalent. Many people care for these attributes of the drama, and Miss Brady has a large following. So it is not improbable that the play, "Forever After," will have a run that in a small measure approaches its title.

Oscar Wilde was not at his best when he wrote "An Ideal Husband." It is a so-called brilliant comedy, but it lacks a dramatic suspense and scintillating lines of many of his more popular works. As presented by a newly formed repertoire company it is interestingly played. This company, by the way, included a group of English players who have made themselves popular with American audiences during the last few years. Constance Collier, Norman Trevor, Cyril Harcourt, more famed as an author than actor, and Julian L'Estrange constitute the leaders of the personnel. The play itself preaches the gospel that a woman should not make her husband an ideal, for all men are human and family skeletons must rattle on occasions.

Lively comedy in a melodramatic setting makes "Someone in the House," a new "crook" play, interesting and holds the excited curiosity of the audience until the final curtain. The play starts as frank melodrama of a not unfamiliar type. The second act, however, introduces comedy, and comedy reigns to the end. Lynn Fontanne as a follower of

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her own idea of culture, giggling, wordy in her sentiments and platitudes gives a characterization of a " society woman " that is inimitable.

New and Old Favorites

"THE MAID OF THE MOUNTAINS " has been popular in London for more than a year. London's taste has not reached the Broadway standard, for if this operetta becomes popular in the United States there will be another mystery in the realm of the theatre. The play is handsomely mounted, and, at times, well sung, but it lacks virility, pep. There is insufficient comedy. The dancing one expects in a musical play is lacking. Incidentally, jokes about the American registration of September 12 were introduced by Spanish brigands. " The Maid of the Mountains " lives somewhere in Spain. It is to be hoped that she was prudent and bought a return ticket.

Mr. John Cort, who brings tuneful musical comedies to the American stage, produced " Fiddlers Three." It is an operetta of romantic Italy, laid in the story of a violin contest, with the familiar passions of the stage: love rejected, jealousy, hatred, and love triumphant. Into the picturesque atmosphere wanders an English nobleman, an American widow who, for novelty's sake, is under her daughter's guardianship, and a truly humorous American drummer. The play wins the audience by its charming music, its comedy and its vaudeville " stunts " in the second act. Tavie Belge, who is a real Belgian refugee, sings the prima donna role in a charming voice. Louise Groody can dance and " flirt " and gives the play most of its vivacity. " Fiddlers Three " should wield their bows to a prosperous tune.

They have called the season's production at the Hippodrome " Everything." The name is well chosen, for the evening's entertainment includes a country circus, a prima donna from the concert stage (Miss Belle Story), De Wolf Hopper as master of ceremonies, Houdini, who escapes from a straight jacket, a battle scene with tanks going over the

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top, clowns, trick skaters,—and the rest. The formula for a successful Hippodrome season has been carefully compounded. Everyone will want to see "Everything" at least once in the season.

"Sinbad" is an institution. Al Jolson is, or should be, always among those present in New York's theatrical menage. At present, besides giving us an evening of total absence from worry, he is putting a spoke in patriotism that gives that rapidly revolving wheel additional impulse. His new patriotic contribution to song, "written by a young man who needs the money"—is the touching melody that will add to the war's contributions—financially and emotionally.

Just exactly what Roi Cooper Megrue has sought to prove in "Tea for Three" is not evident, unless it is that husbands should not object to friend wife having a male friend for tea, once or so a week, or that friend husband should keep up a flirtation with his wife and keep up with his aspirations to be amused after marriage. At any rate "Tea for Three" full of "cleverities," if I may coin a word, is very diverting and an evening's peep into other people's troubles and problems, quite as entertaining, as such experiences are likely to be in real life.

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THE FINANCIAL OUTLOOK

By W. S. COUSINS

THE heavy hand of the law has fallen hard upon the non-essential in industry, and whereas a few months ago he was frowned upon in an impatient manner by those who are responsible for the details of the war program, he is now being deprived of his sources of fuel and raw materials, and in many instances his labor supply has been diverted to war activities.

Plants are now working on war contracts to an unprecedented extent, in which respect we are duplicating the experiences of Great Britain in the second year of the war. It is estimated that in some lines from 50 to 75 or even 80 per cent of the production is for Government account. There are some classes of establishments formerly working exclusively for the supply of civilian needs that are now working wholly for the Government. This is most conspicuously true in clothing and leather manufactures, particularly shoes. Civilian needs in woolens, and probably some others, are being supplied from previously accumulated stocks, while from current production little or nothing is set aside to fill future requirements. This seems to foreshadow a time of lessened ability to supply the requirements of the civilian population in the near future.

For the first time since we entered the struggle, the non-essential industries are now beginning to feel the real stress of the war, and are either going out of business, as is true in certain instances, or else converting themselves into war plants. The curtailment of non-essentials is partly the result of realization on the part of producers that their efforts are not required in the former lines of business and partly to the shortening of their supplies of credit or fuel or transportation. It is a striking feature of the whole condition of affairs that such shortening should be in progress, notwithstanding the high prices and large margins of profit which

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in some cases are reported at record figures. The restrictions upon building and new construction except for war work have been a special obstacle to the further development of business in directions that are not classed as distinctly necessary.

WAR REVENUE BILL

IN record time, considering the magnitude of the task assigned to it, the House of Representatives in September passed on the new war revenue bill and sent it for consideration to the Finance Committee of the Senate. It was hoped that the bill would have reached final passage before the November elections, but such a result is not now looked for in view of the determination of leading Senators to sift through the details of the measure quite thoroughly. As now constituted, the war revenue bill will provide for the raising of slightly over eight billion dollars, of which $2,375,000,000 will come from corporation and individual income tax, and $3,200,000,000 from war profits and excess profits.

From the investors' standpoint, an important point was won in striking from the original draft of the measure, the stipulation that in calculating taxable incomes, corporations and individuals may be permitted to exempt only such amount of interest paid out during the year as would be "in excess of interest received free from taxation under this title." The effect of this provision was indirectly to make such tax-exempt securities as Liberty 3½s or municipal bonds issued with every tax-exempt provision, taxable at the current rate.

Strenuous efforts have also been made to have striken out of the bill that section levying a tax upon municipal and state securities, but thus for without result. By a vote of 132 to 61 the House rejected an amendment exempting future issues of State and Municipal bonds. This is, of course, but a step in the process, and, failing to gain their point in the Senate, Municipal officials say that they will carry their case to the Court of Last Resort. This is what the Comptroller of the City of New York said in a telegram of protest to

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Congress prior to the adoption of that taxation clause: "Such a tax would impose the burden not upon the holders of these securities but upon the States and other political subdivisions, such as cities, villages and towns, which are already in serious difficulties that promise to become more acute because of added war costs and assistance to the Federal Government in the prosecution of the war. In the case of the City of New York, for example, it is estimated that the loss of revenue and added costs due to the war conditions will run into the millions. The proposed tax would require that the cities and States pay an increased rate of interest on their bonds for many years after the tax on the income of such bonds had been repealed."

The controversy over the constitutional right of Congress to tax the income from the State and municipal bonds seems to be due principally to the doubt cast by Governor Hughes, in 1910, on the meaning of the Sixteenth Amendment, which reads: "The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes on incomes, from whatever source derived, without apportionment among the several States and without regard to any census or enumeration." When he submitted the amendment to the New York Legislature he expressed the fear that it would give Congress power to tax New York State and municipal bonds and thus "place such limitations upon the borrowing power of the State as to make the performance of the functions of local government a matter of Federal grace." Mr. Hughes was answered by Senator Root of New York, who in a letter to the New York Legislature held that the Sixteenth Amendment would not constitute any new grant of power to Congress, but would merely relieve the exercise of the existing taxing power of the National Government "from the requirement that the tax shall be apportioned among the several States." Thereupon New York ratified that Amendment, as did other States, and it became effective. Our income tax laws since 1913 have been based upon the authority of that Amendment and it is significant that State and municipal bonds have been carefully exempt from such measures.

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FOURTH LIBERTY LOAN CAMPAIGN

PERHAPS never in the history of our country has such careful and thorough preparation been made for an important forthcoming event as that which preceded the fourth Liberty Loan campaign. Contrary to the general view that the shortening of the campaign period might be prejudicial to the highest measure of success of the campaign, it was quite commonly accepted as a wise provision, and some communities announced their intention to conduct their canvass on the one-day registration plan. By this method every man, woman and child able to subscribe for Liberty Bonds in amounts from $50.00 upward is conducted on a given day to the registration booth, where the amount of his or her subscription is duly recorded.

Addressing himself to the problem early in September, Secretary McAdoo drew up a bill embodying his conception of new legislation imperatively needed in order to insure the success of the next campaign and this legislation was speedily approved by Congress. In general, the new regulations thus provided were as follows:

The interest on fourth Liberty bonds, not more than $30,000 of which are owned by any person or firm, be exempt from the graduated additional income taxes and excess profits and war profits taxes. That interest on first, second and third Liberty bonds, not more than $45,000 of which are owned by any person or firm, be exempt from the same taxes. That the War Savings Stamps may be issued to an aggregate of $4,000,000, raising the limit $2,000,000,000, so as to float the 1919 series. That authority be granted to the Secretary of the Treasury to make arrangements in or with, foreign countries, to stabilize foreign exchange, thereby giving greater flexibility in Treasury operations. That President Wilson be empowered to investigate, regulate, and prohibit, by means of license or otherwise, transactions in foreign exchange and the export, hoarding, melting, or earmarking of gold or silver coin or bullion or currency. That the law limiting the amount of loans which National banks may make to any one borrower to one-tenth of the capital stock be modified.

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PREPARATION IN STOCK MARKET

SIMILAR preparation was made by bankers and Government officials in the big monetary centers, and in New York this took the form of repeated warnings to stock brokerage houses to curtail whatever of their speculative dealings require the employment of call loan money on a large scale. That these warnings have borne good fruit is evidenced by the fact that the aggregate of call loans has been reduced, it is estimated, from 250 million dollars daily to between 35 and 50 millions.

Brokers were compelled to notify their customers to discontinue, for the time being, the purchasing of large blocks of stock on margin, unless of course they are in a position to advance a big proportion of the purchase price of the stocks. On the other hand, an investor who has the greater part of his purchase money on hand is not likely to meet with much difficulty in obtaining whatever funds are necessary to protect what securities he has or to make desirable purchases. The stock market has for these reasons been under rather severe selling pressure, and anything approaching professional operation for the purpose of manipulating prices has been frowned upon, not only by the banks, but also by speculative leaders as well.

REASONABLE ECONOMY

ONE of the most effective means of eliminating waste and diverting the country's resources into essential channels has been the policy adopted by Government leaders in withholding permission for the issuance of securities which could not qualify as promoting activities vitally necessary to the country at this particular period. Congress, early in the war, created the Capital Issues Committee, to which must be submitted all applications for stock and bond issues intended for public sale, whether made by State, municipality, corporation or individual; and thus each issue must run the gauntlet and receive its classification in relation to its compatibility to the national interest. The purpose of the Government is

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thus to eliminate capital expenditure of every character that can be postponed until after the war is over.

To win the war it is imperative that capital, labor and materials be placed at the service of the Government in the largest possible measure, because all unnecessary use of these resources weakens the fighting strength of the nation. There is no doubt about the willingness of the people of the United States to meet the Government requirements; nevertheless, they are clearly entitled to guidance as to those projects which are necessary for the best interests of the country and therefore to be stimulated, and those which are, on the other hand, to be regarded as unnecessary and therefore to be discouraged.

The Capital Issues Committee has adopted as its policy that favorable action should be taken only on projects which would aid in the prosecution of the war, or which for other public reasons are determined to be absolutely necessary. The activities of the committee extend to all issues of stocks and bonds, large or small, and in every case the committee is most anxious to reach a fair and just conclusion, and it confidently expects the co-operation of all interests to bring about these results. It is the belief of the committee that only by subordinating local and personal interest to Government needs, and encouraging the most rigid economy in general expenditures, can the nation hope to bear its great share in the financial burden of the struggle, and mobilize sufficient capital, labor and material to win success. No one should compete with the Government for any of these necessaries, nor hinder it from getting what it requires. The paramount demand, therefore, is immediate and universal economy. This is the least we can do for the brave men at the front who are fighting for the cause of universal freedom.

RAILROAD EARNINGS

RECENT publication of the last of the railroad reports for July has made it possible to measure the effect of the radical rate increases put into effect by the Director-General to offset higher operating costs and relieve the Government

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of the huge deficits being rolled up under the rates obtaining under private management. It was not until July that the full force of the advances was in effect for a month, and the marked change in the companies' returns is easily explained. A compilation by the *Financial Chronicle* shows that 190 roads reporting aggregate gross revenues of $463,684,000 showed a gain over July, 1917, of $117,661,000, an increase of 34 per cent. In the meantime wages have been pushed up with great rapidity, so that operating costs were likewise swollen, but net earnings of the 190 roads amounting to $114,348,000, showed a gain of $34,466,000, or more than 31 per cent. The year-old figures with which comparison is made were themselves very large, the gross revenues making a gain of $46,328,000 over those for the corresponding month in 1917. To what extent the economies possible under unification have served to offset wage increases cannot yet be determined, but it is not likely that much of the gain in net was due to this course. The necessity for much higher rates both for passenger and freight service was emphasized by the course of net earnings in the first six months of this year. In ten years the aggregate revenues of the railroads in this country have more than doubled.

PRICE ADVANCES

The Federal Food Administration has issued a bulletin in which it is attempted to show that the increase in the National expenditure for food for the second period of 1918 was only 3½ per cent above that of the same period in 1917. This must not be taken to mean that prices of individual foodstuffs have increased only 3.5 per cent. It is shown, for example that due to the increase in local gardening the expenditure for vegetables was 63.1 per cent less than last year. This fact gives less consolation to the city "cliff-dweller" than to his more fortunate rural neighbor.

The National City Bank of New York has recently presented the results of an extended investigation into the matter of commodity prices and draws the conclusion that the average import prices of articles representing production

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in every part of the world have been steadily climbing since 1914. A few prominent cases will illustrate.

Article	Import price in	1918	1917	1916	1915
Clothing wool	(per pound)	54	36	28	23
Copper	(per pound)	26.2	25	19.4	.....
Sugar	(per pound)	4.8	4.3	3.7	3.2
Tin	(per pound)	54.6	40.	35.3	32.4
Cotton	(per yard)	25.7	21.	9.5	.....
Pig Iron	(per ton)	119.42	.....	.....	35.8
(Decreases)					
Coffee		9.	9.5	.....	11.1
Tobacco		1.21	.....	.....	1.28
White potatoes	(bu.)	1.02	2.27	.....	.....

The cost of rent, clothing, transportation and other items of living has advanced several times as much as the aggregate increase in the cost of foodstuffs. There has been more than a 35 per cent increase in prices paid to the farmer, but also a reduction of speculation and profiteering and narrowed margins between farmers and wholesale prices under food regulations.

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The Editor's Un-Easy Chair

(Contributions to this department must be addressed to the Editor and should not exceed 1,000 words. Manuscripts should contain addressed envelope stamped.)

"We're With You, Charlie"

"WE'RE with you, Charlie," is a phrase that has become a win-the-war slogan. It was born in the resonant throats of labor and echoed from coast to coast. It was during Schwab's tour of the ship yards in August that the slogan was voiced. Later, at Hog Island the word that had come out of the West was echoed by the shirt-sleeved ship workers of the Atlantic Coast. Up in New England in August, when the Director General of the Emergency Fleet visited the "boys" of yards, he was greeted by an army of men displaying banners, which read:

"We are with you, Charlie,
"Every Minute,
"Every Hour,
"Every Day."

When Charles M. Schwab took over the building of the Emergency Fleet he undertook one of the biggest tasks of the war—a task that is vital to the transport and supply of our troops and the feeding of the nation at home. Upon his success and the efficiency and labor loyalty of the men in the yards hangs this great achievement. Mr. Schwab's instantaneous success was as a leader of men who work. He is an apostle of the new doctrine of labor. He proclaims himself a laboring man and as such is received and carried on the shoulders of the men in the ship yards.

Prominence has been thrust upon Charlie Schwab. He has not sought it. He has always been the busiest of busy men. He has had friends thrust upon him from the man in shirt sleeves to the Wall Street potentate of wealth; from the humblest artist to the greatest voice in opera. From the

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cornet player to the master of the organ. He is magnetic, simple, and winning in personality.

"Never in my life has a man worked for me; they all work with me."

That is part of Schwab's creed. It is not a "policy"; it's Schwab. He goes after the soul of the workingman; he gets into the spirit of work with him—he is of them, "for the workers will rule this country," he startled the nation by saying.

Out of the ruck and muck of war comes Men of the Hour. Opportunity makes men; opportunity has given us Schwab to build our ships; to work shoulder to shoulder with labor to win this war. It is Mr. Schwab's great task to do a lasting work for the nation. To this he has consecrated his ability, his time, and his whole ambition.

The nation in shirt sleeves, and the nation in khaki, takes off its hat to Schwab.

"We're with you, Charlie!"

After Twenty Years—At Guam

LIFE is very complex at Guam.

> "Most blest of Pacific daughters
> Washed by the ocean's foam,
> Where the soul is not dead that slumbers,
> And one need not ask for alms,"

as a Guamite puts it.

A recent issue of the *Guam News Letter,* (April, 1918), has reached us and we peruse it apprehensively, but are speedily assured that we still have Guam. The war has not created any seismic thrills, yet its Fifteenth Congress has taken cognizance of the International Catastrophe by assembling and passing resolutions to contribute its bit to the War Relief Fund, the same being $15.00, presumably, "Mexican."

Lest perforce this may not seem largest in comparison with the appropriation of the 65th U. S. Congress for war purposes, it must be said, by comparison, to Guam's credit,

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that the session of its Fifteenth Congress only lasted from 10 A.M. to 11.30 A.M., a record that balances scores with the 65th Congress at the National Capitol. In Guam, too, gold does not run up hill; in fact when the U. S. S. *Charleston* sailed into Guam some twenty years ago and the Captain of the Port (and Fort?) was awakened from his slumbers, to use the Guam's poet's metaphor, and had to borrow powder from the *Charleston* to return the salute, Guamites were using tin tags from whalers' plug tobacco, for currency.

Since our occupation naval officers, Chinamen, Japs, and an occasional tourist have contributed to Guam's circulating medium. Still, money had not been inflated and a dollar goes a long way as is evidenced by some court records, printed in the recent, April, issue of the *News Letter*. Jesus Santos having committed himself to one Felix Pangelinan, was levied by judgment $3.00 and costs, fifty cents; this being about the maximum of the Court's findings from March 11th up to and including April 10th, with the one exception of Angel Cabo who was seized of some $9.00 by the same plaintiff. The court proceedings are not largely contributory, from a monetary point of view, to the overheadcharges of the island's legal machinery. The Fixem Repair Shop occupied, upon the dates inclusive referred to above, considerable attention of the Court, and while the legal motor ran on the same speed, the cases were less successful and the ranges of cost netted but from twenty-five to fifty cents. Out of the 77 cases tried, the Court netted $24.20. Justice is on the bargain counter at Guam.

But before leaving Guam to its "slumbering," its Congressional enactments are worthy of note and reveal an awakened if not alarming agitation in our minds. Is Guam in revolt? Does Guam chafe under our benevolent assimilation? Whatever can be the matter there,

> "Isle of a thousand wonders,
> Land of the cocoanut palms,
> A place we all do love
> When our hearts with her are in tune,"

to revert to the poet laureate of Guam.

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For, in the Proceedings of the Guam Congress, Fifteenth Session, we find (c) "That the Honorable President and Congress of the United States be recommended through the Governor of Guam, to define and resolve *definitely,* the civil status of the inhabitants of Guam."

Whist! and begorry, the Clan-na-Gael of Guam is abroad! And after nineteen years Juan Torres Diaz, Carlos Tydingco, Antonio Carbudido, *et al,* are still asking Our Congress such questions! Nay, nay, replies Governor Smith, it is a question of need and Federal authorities have been invoked from time to time, but at the present, "Spot that my heart calls home," as the laureate sayeth, it is inopportune; "the treaty of Paris sets no time limit for the accomplishment of the object herein discussed."

However, time goes on at Guam, and life is not so devoid of worth whileness. On March 26th, Mrs. Smith entertained her friends with a tea at Government House. An unlooked for rain changed her plans but her guests were able to take short strolls through the gardens and a very pleasant time was spent by all.

Want a Job at Washington?

OUR old friend the Government Clerk has taken on a new dignity in Washington town. He is omnipresent in the Capital's broad thoroughfares and hangs onto the street cars like bees on a hive. He pours out of the great and small government buildings like human tape, ribbons mostly, for the lady clerk is in the ascendant, numerically and potentially. She is an essential, for typewriters are firing messages as rapidly as machine guns Over There. Peep into a government building and see for yourself.

As we move from door to door and room to room we hear the thousands of typewriters and telegraph instruments clicking out orders, information, direction, and a thousand details every minute. See the hurry and scurry of messsenger girls and boys, many mounted on roller skates. See the busy and feverish clerks and executives chasing papers about the corridors and dashing into and out of offices. See the

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desks loaded down with paperwork disposed of and awaiting disposition.

Mr. Civil Service has loosened up considerably, as compared with the olden days. He is giving examinations weekly, yes daily, if the material is available. They qualify on good old Form 1312, the standardized form for office help, big and small. Of course there are also other stereotyped forms such as 304, 1800, 1371 and the like. But 1312 is the favorite. The variety of positions for which it qualifies are:

Index and Catalog Clerk, File Clerk, Editorial Clerk, Schedule Clerk, Research Clerk, Clerk qualified in Statistics, Accounting, etc., Assistant to Business Manager, Expert in Business Administration, Clerk qualified in Business Administration, Finger Print Classifier, Draftsman, Expert in Textile Products, Production Clerk and Expert, Senior and Junior Cost Accountant, Statistician, Statistical Expert, etc.

Salaries too have increased along the line. Clerks get an initial entrance salary now of $1100, $1200 and $1400 and over, instead of the standard old entrance salaries before the war of $720, $840, $900 and $1000. An automatic increase is provided for $1100 clerks at the end of their temporary appointment of three months, of $100. Promotions are rapid. Everything depends upon the individual and how he measures up to his job.

And then dear old Congress allowed itself to be cajoled and persuaded into providing a "bonus" of $120 a year to all regular employees and to all temporary employees who have displayed the requisite interest, zeal, enthusiasm and cooperation in their work during their temporary three months' appointment. Yes, it took an awful lot of persuading power to squeeze that extra money from his pocket. The other day he even wanted to tack on an additional hour to the regular office hours and not give a cent more pay for the extra time, but the President vetoed his bill.

The salaries of the specialists qualifying on Form 1312 and occasionally by written examination, vary from $1400 to $5000 per annum—"per diem" and "per annum" is the

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standard government way of referring to "wages." The average pay is between $1800 up to $3000.

War Marriages Drafting the Girls

EVERY available means is exhausted to supply the demand and still demand increases and supply decreases. The draft has made fearful inroads on clerical organization, which is largely offset in the War and Navy departments by induction or enlistment or commissioning high class men and placing them on the same desk jobs. Of course occasionally there is a rub here and the tendency now is to keep only "limited field service" men on the job.

Another reason for the shortage is the fact that before the war government positions were open only largely to men —women were abhorred in government offices. Now they are at a premium. And you know girls don't like to leave home. Hence the shortage all around, not counting war marriages.

The percentage of civil service employees in older offices who enter the service through written tests or examinations is about 40 per cent., 20 per cent. represent old time employees, and 40 per cent. are FORM employees. The percentage in new offices is about 40 per cent. through examinations, 5 per cent. old timers, and 55 per cent. FORM 1312s. A few officers are excepted altogether from the provisions of Civil Service. They use the hire and fire methods of the business world.

The hours in government service are normally seven hours of work a day, from 9 to 4.30, but many offices work from 8.30 to 5 or from 9 to 5.30. The lunch hour is universally a half hour period taken at 12, 12.30 or 1.

On to Washington is the cry now as in the days of '61-'65. But it is either for a patriotic motive or a selfish gain. The Dollar a Year Man is no more. His services have been dispensed with. He is now paid a regular salary, made a real employee. The volunteer system didn't work.

Where to house them, at any price, is Washington's problem. Everywoman's home is a boarding house, in the Capital. The town is a city of magnificent distances—and

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walking is the order of the day. Taxis are prohibitive—and the street cars are wholly inadequate—but the movies are reaping a fortune and the proverbial "mortgage on the farm" at home is shrinking.

Our South American Trade in the Balance

WE are getting the preponderance of trade with South America since 1914-15. Will we keep it? The American business man is not worrying a great deal about it, but the Latin-American hopes that we will seek his trade, at his own terms. His terms are primarily based upon elasticity of credits, and a conformity to his needs—two premises not heretofore considered of utmost importance to the American manufacturer. A correspondent from a South American country writes us:

> "The merchants of the United States, influenced undoubtedly by the refinement of their surroundings live for themselves, they manufacture their goods and export their products subject to the criterium, usages, customs and needs of their own countrymen, and they ignore the criterium, they underrate the habits and customs, and are ignorant of the needs and tastes of the peoples of the other twenty Republics of this Continent."

This is a rather sweeping charge and worthy of attention, if we are to hold our after-the-war Latin-American trade. We know that England, now largely cut out of Latin-America, will renew her trade interests in the Southern Republics, and England pursued a successful catering policy, before 1914. Germany, however, was so well established below the equator, that we could hardly regard ourselves a competitor. Of German methods our correspondent says:

> "Germany without priding herself of the practical spirit of the United States nor of its republican form of government, nor of the homogeneity of the habits and aspirations with the Latin-American countries, left aside her imperialism, forgot her medieval customs and came down from the summit of her political preponderance and haughtiness, to intermingle with the Spanish-American democracies of Latin America, and to make a deep study of their idiosyncrasies, their tastes and characteristics of the primitive races which are shown at times in their exigencies for good form, and at

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> other times, in their fondness for loud colors or of excessive adornments, and lastly, to their extreme confidence in the honesty of the big or small merchants, granting to them credits up to six months for the payment of the goods which meet their peremptory needs."

If we fail to hold our advantage in Latin-American trade, after the war, it will be due to our lack of vision, thinks our South American correspondent. He recommends an extension of credit, a higher regard for South American business houses, a more intense study of the psychology of the people, their needs, trade practices and a greater participation in the development of their industries, coupled with closer diplomatic ties and a recognition of the fact that internal revolutions do not affect economic movement in Latin American countries. "The commercial or economic transactions entered into between the citizens of our countries and those of other nations are fully guaranteed by the probity of our Courts, placed always afloat (safe) in the transitory shipwreck of the institutions and laws of political order."

In view of the great mercantile marine that will be ours after the war, our exporters and banking institutions should not lose the opportunity to conform to the requirements of holding the trade—and good will—of our Latin-American friends.

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The FORUM'S Policy, Constructive Nationalism

TO WIN THE WAR

What is Constructive Nationalism?

Constructive business, industry, organizations—that look to a permanent betterment of our social and organic life as a democratic people.

National unity, solidarity, in common aims of the whole people, politically, socially, educationally, and fundamentally, as one people, one flag, one language, one loyalty.

It is the desire of The FORUM to open its pages to the thought of the best constructive thinkers in our country, that their thought may be the seeds or the stimulating means of a definite, substantial nationalism; aligning its aims and policies with the forces to win the war.

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